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# THE FORTNIGHTLY

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DECEMBER, 1948

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NORTH AMERICA : 1948

BY MAX BELOFF

FOR Europe this has been the centennial year of 1848—the year of revolutions. It is not a happy memory. The bright hopes of the enlightenment flickered up for a last time and were drowned beneath the turbulent nationalisms and class hatreds which still disfigure and distract our continent. But in the U.S.A.—a country which takes its anniversaries seriously—it only fell to this traveller's lot to take part in one such celebration. 1848 was the year in which the State of Wisconsin was admitted to the Union and in the State's charming capital city—Madison—nestling between its sunlit lakes, we duly celebrated with processions, bands, fireworks and all the conventional trimmings, this totally unepochmaking event. But, it was impressive for all that. With its accent on the civilian and not the military, on the living together and assimilation of the various strains—German and Italian, as well as Scandinavian and Swiss—that have gone to make up this flourishing and delectable state, it was a poignant reminder that building is better than destruction, peace than war.

It is indeed a privilege for anyone from weary, dispirited Europe to be allowed to live even for a few months in these western lands, basking in the noontide of their prosperity, preoccupied with the pattern of domestic living, discovering, through their great state universities in particular, new entrances for their young people to the golden worlds of literature, music and art, and as it sometimes seems, resolutely oblivious to the seething passions that rock our world. One may call the midwest—as Europeans have called it for generations, and as sophisticated New Yorkers call it to-day—materialistic, crude, boring. It would be absurd to go to the other extreme and talk as though Madison or Minneapolis were a modern Athens. It would be hypocrisy to pretend that even the more enlightened midwestern states—Minnesota for instance—do all that can be done to make civilized living possible for all classes of the community. In public housing, in health services and perhaps in some other directions, the advanced countries of western Europe have still something to teach. But on the whole—certainly in a time of prosperity like the present—it is a fact that very large sections of the population indeed, in this part of the United States, have attained what is (whether the sophisticates like it or not) an ease of physical living, an ability to concentrate on themselves and the future of their families, which must be the envy of the common man almost everywhere on the globe. Their

sleep has not yet been disturbed by the tocsin, the siren or the midnight knock of the secret police. No-one who has enjoyed their hospitality and friendship can fail to hope that this immunity may continue and spread wider.

This may seem an emphasis on the obvious. And if it were all, the returning traveller would have little more to do than confirm the fact by now well established that drug-stores exist, that coca-cola is an indispensable accompaniment to hot weather, and so on. But there is more to it than that : there is the fact, as Tocqueville saw, that one cannot understand the public actions of the Americans (or indeed of any other people) without grasping the essential pattern of their daily domestic lives. When we get the new Tocqueville we so badly need (and are, must be admitted, so unlikely to get), it is to be hoped that the book will include the equivalent of Tocqueville's Part II, as well as the more conventional discussion of institutions that forms his Part I.

One cannot then understand the temper of American politics, in so far as that temper is set by the midwestern norm without understanding this background of material comfort based upon technical efficiency, nor can one understand Manitoba and Ontario without grasping the effect of the upward seepage of American modes of life into communities still slightly less well-off than their American counterparts to the south. It must and does condition their attitudes to the problem of Europe, and of European recovery. It is not so much a question of "it can't happen here" as of "it should happen there."

It would be a mistake to imagine however, that this domestic prosperity and apparently carefree domestic existence, is carried on wholly in oblivion of less fortunate peoples. To a great extent in the U.S.A., and to an even more marked extent in Canada (especially where Great Britain is concerned) there is a ready acceptance of the moral principle that those who enjoy so much of nature's bounty should be prepared to share it. Without this wholly moral impulse which this implies, the Marshall Plan would have been inconceivable. Even now one gasps at the extraordinary blindness to this imaginative generosity so often shown by prominent people in England. One tends to explain it rather shamefacedly to one's American friends, by saying that of course the English are undemonstrative by nature, that they dislike being thanked and imagine other people share that dislike. But one cannot help feeling, first, that what is becoming in an individual may be less so in a nation and, secondly, that this explanation is not the whole truth. One cannot help the feeling that our present rulers have shown their essential and ineradicable insularity—that although our diplomatic, and perhaps even our financial relations with the New World have on the whole been handled rather well since the end of the war, Great Britain in reconstruction badly needs both in the U.S.A. and in Canada a voice which can express, in time of peace, the common purpose we hold with the same eloquence that Winston Churchill displayed in

making clear our common purposes in war.

It is after all of tremendous importance that the arrangements that have been worked out and are being worked out, for collaboration in economic, political and military matters should have the full understanding and support of the peoples involved. Whatever may be the future of western union in any of its forms—and no subject is more eagerly canvassed in North America—it remains a fact that the only stabilizing element in the world to-day, the only element capable of holding in check the forces of aggression and revolution, is the strength presented by the North Atlantic triangle—by the capacity for working together shown by the United States, Great Britain and Canada. In the United States certainly, and in Canada to an extent perhaps only less marked, the full implications of this are just emerging into the light of public discussion. And in the United States particularly where, in the long run, opinion is everything, where the expert and the professional must in the last resort give way to the aspirations and prejudices of the ordinary citizen, in a country that is a political democracy in a sense impossible to one with a parliamentary system and an élite of more or less traditional pattern, this does mean the creation of public support. Great Britain has little to gain and everything to lose from majestic reticence.

We have to make ourselves both better understood in North America and learn to understand the North Americans better than sometimes we do. The latter is not going to be a simple matter. It is worth beginning any consideration of the American scene by accentuating the obvious in productivity, material wealth and material well-being : but it is superficial to end there. The United States is no more complacent about itself than it is about the state of the world. It is certainly aware—and this is true at any rate of large sections of the population—that it is changing rapidly in part because of its new status in the world. And if the immediate political reaction seemed in the summer to be an escape backward in time, the event has proved the contrary.

Indeed as one probes beneath the outward show of domestic felicity, one comes across all sorts of things that may perhaps best be explained as different aspects of the same phenomenon—an inward acceptance of the fact of change combined with an instinctive resistance to change, for fear of the unknown. There is a certain national nervousness of which the most startling phenomenon is provided not so much by the Washington witch-hunt (the only appropriate designation for the activities of the un-American Activities Committee) as by the widespread fear in intellectual circles that this may herald a general drive against dangerous thoughts in every field. The nervousness over communist penetration is of course understandable—particularly if one appreciates the fact that most Americans instinctively exaggerate the power of the Russians and the intelligence of communist leadership—but the particularly dramatic form which it takes does seem to represent something particular about the national temperament. The Canadians would seem to confront a similar and quite

as real a danger with much less fuss and bother. On the other hand, the notion that all this shows that the United States is entering upon a period of "near-fascism"—that freedom of speech is seriously imperilled, that free academic inquiry is likely to face increasing hostility—does seem almost equally far-fetched to anyone with the least idea of the real servitude to which thought is exposed over the greater part of the European continent. One is bound to notice that much of this talk comes directly or indirectly from those who are quite unmoved when the threat to freedom comes from the "left".

It is true that the nervousness that such fears induce is itself an impediment to free and open discussion, and that in the particular case of Government servants, or in the case of others whose livelihood depends ultimately upon legislators (the staffs of state universities for instance) the suspicion at present attaching to anyone of alleged left-wing leanings or acquaintanceship is not conducive to efficiency, to say nothing of original thought, or enterprise. It is true that in any country so profoundly democratic in the narrower sense, the pressure for conformity is bound to be very strong. But there would seem—at least to an outside observer—no reason to think that the libertarian elements in the American tradition with their own strength will not in the long run, and perhaps even in the short run, prove equal to holding their own. Certainly a visitor from Britain who is at once made conscious by the wealth of American publications of the enormous loss we daily sustain through the deliberate curtailment by paper rationing of our access to information and to new ideas, is in no position to say that the readers of the most informed and varied press in the world, are not enjoying intellectual freedom.

Of perhaps even more significance, though not as immediately striking as this rather widespread nervousness, is a strong tendency towards national self-consciousness and introspection. The idea that the Americans are complacent arises from the fact that they like a good deal of what they have and rightly (if rather crudely believe) that others would be better off for having it too. But this is not complacency. Americans are, for one thing, uncertain whether their present prosperity can last. In spite of the generation now growing up being too young to remember or even comprehend the great depression, the lessons of the 1930's have not gone unheeded. The Depression and the New Deal are still the great events of modern American history—more so than either war—and one would be led astray by superficialities if one failed to perceive beneath the passion and froth of an election year, the fact that the substantial issue was "for or against the New Deal." The iconography and iconoclasm that the figure of Franklin Roosevelt alternately evokes is evidence enough of this. Such is its volume that some pedant three millennia hence may well ask of Roosevelt, as of Homer, whether we are dealing with a man or a folk-myth.

Because of this question about the economic and political stability of

their system, the Americans are given to probing its foundations—no going concern has ever been so surveyed, mapped, probed, analysed and dissected before. Partly perhaps because of the external threat to their own culture and still more because of the threat that overhangs the Europe from which so much cultural sustenance has been drawn, there is in literature and the arts a very definite emphasis on the autonomy of things and moods American. In educational institutions, particularly in the universities, the increasing tendency to go in for large scale programmes on "American civilization", to make the American scene itself the nuclear norm of all educational and cultural activity, is a feature as remarkable as it is widespread. The attempt to build bridges between the traditional academic disciplines, not in the name of a common world culture, but in the name of a common American civilization, has for the European observer both its heartening and its ominous side. But it is not the mark of a complacent people and, for a great many Americans, there is the justified feeling that the strengthening and re-assessing of their own cultural values is a form of service to the common cause.

A high degree of self-consciousness is even more characteristic of contemporary Canada than of the contemporary United States. The Canadians have of course benefited psychologically from the fact that a second world war has seen them playing a full part, in spite of the handicaps that their complicated national structure at one time seemed to place on their full development within the international community. On their economic advance during and since the war, the statistical evidence is overwhelming. It can no longer be doubted that Canada is a nation and a great nation. The Canadian debate is rather as to whether, and in what sense, Canada is a sovereign nation.

Canadians realize that in the world as now constituted their only safety must lie in full co-operation with Great Britain and the United States. They realize the enormous shift of power that has taken place in favour of the latter and one emphasized in their case by the increasingly interlocked character of the two economies. They know and regret the fact that in the great matters of policy their voice is little heeded at Washington, that the Americans act on the justified assumption that Canada will always be with them. The loss here, it may be said, may well be on the American side. There are good reasons for thinking that in international questions, the Canadian view is worth taking into account more often than it is. The justification for an independent Canadian nationhood must therefore largely be a cultural one. Here there is the consciousness of what Canada has lost in the past through the southward pull on its best brains, particularly its best academic brains. Canadians would like to see a strengthening of the intellectual and cultural links with this country—and once again clash with the British combination of reticence and insularity that seems to crop up wherever relations with this country are concerned. Canadians have a feeling that the interest

in this country that they feel, and the sympathy they show for its difficulties should be reciprocated. They have a feeling that this is not the case. And again, it is hard to remain candid, and to deny that they are right.

But all these problems and questionings that come up as soon as one attempts to get beneath the surface, are in themselves secondary to the main and abiding impression that must be left with anyone whose first impression of North America has been in this year of reminiscence—1948. The impression must be an immeasurably hopeful one. To-day in terms of sheer power, the world's centre of gravity lies undoubtedly somewhere to the south of the Great Lakes. The Great Lakes are perhaps going to be what the Mediterranean was to the ancient world or the narrow seas from the times of the Reformation until our own days. In so far as the fortunes of the human race now rest upon the good sense and capacities of the people who inhabit that area, one is bound to say that with all their crudities of temper and with all the imperfections of their institutions these people are not inadequate to the task. If we are asked to choose between the North American pattern and the Soviet pattern, it is inconceivable that any civilized being can hesitate.

## MANCHURIA AND AFTER

BY O. M. GREEN

**S**urely Manchuria is bewitched. For over fifty years it has been fought for and dominated by alien powers. Russia, having extracted from China in 1896 the concession for the Chinese Eastern Railway (which like a capital 'T' runs east and west, north and south, throughout Manchuria), and the lease of the Liaotung peninsula, Dairen and Port Arthur, seized on the pretext of the Boxer rising to fill the country with troops. Manchuria was a Russian province in all but name when Japan went to war with Russia for its possession in 1904-1905; after which these two powers virtually divided the country until, in 1931, Japan struck again, drove out the Russians and the last vestiges of Chinese authority, and formed the puppet State of Manchukuo.

Now at last Manchuria is in Chinese hands, but Chinese who are the disciples of Moscow, exponents of a creed which is antagonistic to all the age-long beliefs and practices of China. This splendid country, bigger than France and Germany together, immeasurably rich in minerals, agriculture and forests, is now the largest Communist State, outside the U.S.S.R., in the world, in the most strategic position in the Far East and bordered on three sides by Russian territory.

It has been said that the essential difference between Communist troops and those of the Kuomintang Government is that the former fight for something, the latter only against something. And the conviction has been growing steadily since the war among Chinese intellectuals and business men, much as they fear Communism, that the K.M.T. are not worth fighting for—a conviction evidently prevalent among the troops, to judge by the numbers of them who have gone over to the Communists, with all their expensive American arms.

It is only right to emphasize that the K.M.T. are by no means all of the same stamp. Many members are high-minded liberal men; and undoubtedly good work has been done since the war, in hygiene, education and the restoration and management of railways and airways. But this does not exonerate the K.M.T. administration as a whole. Profiting first by Dr. Sun Yat-sen's commission to the Party to teach China democratic self-government (this was Dr. Sun's "period of political tutelage"), then by the facilities presented by the war, a small group of men have been able to seize omnipotent control and nothing apparently can unseat them. Their motives may have been sincere, to "uphold the teaching of Dr. Sun Yat-sen" as they frequently proclaim. But they have given the K.M.T. a

very bad name.

Nothing so far as can be seen, at least nothing effective, has been done to establish the free self-governing councils in the *hsien*, or counties, and provinces, which are the most important feature of the Constitution adopted nearly two years ago—on paper, a well devised instrument. The Government subsequently formed and nominally representative of all parties was packed with K.M.T. creatures. The revolt of the National Assembly already mentioned was undoubtedly a shock to the K.M.T., but they have survived it. No change is seen in the factional intrigue in Nanking, the general atmosphere of obstruction and defeatism, and throughout the whole administration official self-enrichment never exceeded in China.

Money has been poured out like water on the war with the Communists. Those who remember the Chinese general's happy knack of drawing pay for twice the number of men he commands can imagine how much of this expenditure was pure waste. The only way of meeting expenses was to print more notes. A point was reached when, the dollar having dropped to around 48,000,000 to the £, old currency became physically unmanageable. The gold yuan introduced in August seemed to be fairly well secured and made a not discouraging start. But the mistake was made of valuing it too high, and the trade dislocation that this caused, combined with too severe price control, new restrictions on imports and the depressing victories of the Communists, has led to a flight from the yuan into land, houses, jewellery, furniture, anything of enduring value. The yuan has dropped in value from the initial 1.33 Hong Kong dollars to only twenty-two cents. At this rate, the printing press may begin working again; and then how long will it be before the troops refuse to fight for worthless paper?

In this depressing scene the position of General Chiang Kai-shek is anxiously scanned by his friends. That he did try to come to an agreement with the Communists both at the Chungking conference and through many subsequent broadcasts cannot be denied on any impartial survey of events. The venom daily poured out on General Chiang by the Communists is clearly designed to obscure recollection of these events and to lower his prestige. Yet one cannot but feel that General Chiang has not proved the leader in peace that he was in war. To attempt to pin down, in the vast spaces of the north, the elusive and practised Communist guerrillas whom even the Japanese learnt to fear, instead of containing them within certain lines, was never practicable; and if, as is averred, General Chiang tried, by radio telephone, the utterly impossible task of directing the campaign even in minute details from Nanking, his generals, for the most part incompetent enough already, have a plausible excuse for their failure. Immeasurably superior to all his colleagues, General Chiang has tried to do more than mortal man can do. Whether he could not or would not devolve some of his duties, and accept the counsel of the better men in the

Government, it is to be feared that his prestige and effectiveness have equally suffered.

It is idle to speculate on what will happen now. Some hope that with American aid the Chinese Government will be able to make a barrier along the Yangtze, shutting out Communism from the south. Others prophesy that the two great Kwang provinces in the south will declare their independence with Canton as their capital ; possibly also the remote west and north-west might break away and China enter on another era of the Warring Kingdoms. Others think that the moderates on both sides will agree on some compromise, that General Chiang will be persuaded to go abroad, and a Coalition Government be formed with, of course, Communists predominating. The solid fact that has to be considered is that the Communists already control a very large section of Chinese territory, with every prospect of adding to it ; and the question now is what they have to offer China.

In the past twenty-two years Communism has gone through four distinct phases. The first was when, dominating the whole Nationalist movement, the Communists marched from Canton to Hankow and down the Yangtze in 1926, and was marked by extreme violence and religious persecution. After the breach with General Chiang Kai-shek and the famous Long March to north-west China came five years of consolidating their power at Yenan, when the natural Chinese indulgence towards all religions reappeared and, within the general scheme of agrarian reform, even landlordism on a mild scale was tolerated. Last year, however, there was a marked revival of the original Russian teaching. Swarms of political agents followed the Red armies to set up Marxist-Leninist counsels in the villages, which every villager had to attend regularly and vote on the dotted line. Religious persecution was widely reported, chiefly aimed (for obvious reasons) at American and Roman Catholic missionaries, while Chinese Christians were even forbidden to practise their religion in their own houses. Communism could allow no authority but its own. But now again a change is observable.

It may be that Mao Tse-tung, the Red dictator was frightened by the reactions to his broadcast of last New Year's Day in which he urged the strictest adherence to Marxism-Leninism as the only means of success. Or possibly, as Communist victories mounted up and the capture of Manchuria became more certain, he realized how little the Communists were ready for administration on a State scale and how necessary it was to caress other classes beside the peasants : even they, as Mao Tse-tung must have known, were becoming mutinous under the plundering of their crops for the Red army and the regimenting of their thoughts by the Marxist councils. At any rate on April 1 he delivered another broadcast plainly meant to cajole the middle classes.

"Bad elements," he said, "had slipped into the Party organization and used their power to bully the people, or were guilty of corruption."

Well-to-do men had been robbed and slain without due inquiry into their supposed crimes. This must not be. The co-operation of all classes, the assistance of "industrial and commercial enterprises owned by landlords and rich peasants" are indispensable for the building up of the new China. Such is the substance of Mao Tse-tung's injunctions, followed by more of a similar tenor in his May Day broadcast.

Just so in Java the veteran Communist leader Alimin has urged agreement with the Dutch in order to gain a breathing space in which the Communists may gather strength for further advance. By their own publications the Chinese Communists are desperately short of doctors, scientists, technicians; and probably of machinery too since the Russians stripped Manchuria of all Japanese plant worth having. In September the Communists elected a "North China People's Government" for "the liberated areas"; but all the building of an administration for it to rest upon has still to be done. The Communists cannot get on without the middle classes.

Yet it may be that Mao Tse-tung is insensibly influenced by other than purely tactical considerations. There may be nothing in the rumours that he represents the more moderate Communists, in contrast with the extremist leaders Li Li-san and Liu Ping in Manchuria. But it does seem that the further the Communists get from Russian contacts in Manchuria, the more they become Chinese. And Mao Tse-tung is not only a Chinese who, so far as is known, has never gone out of China; he is a native of Hunan, always the province least tolerant of foreignism; and he is deeply read in Chinese classics and history. Would it be surprising if he had begun to realize that if the Communists are to hold China, it must be in the Chinese way?

We come back to the conviction of all students of China that Russian Communism cannot permanently hold her. All her history and culture, all her political teaching rooted in abhorrence of totalitarianism and the rights of the individual, all her social habits, her vastness and the infinite variety of her provincial characteristics are against it. No analogy can be drawn from what has happened among the semi-barbarous, serf-like peoples of the U.S.S.R. The Chinese are too clever, too shrewd, too conscious of their past, too obstinate towards what they dislike, for a similar submission.

But we must recognize that the process of development will be slow. For the moment, in spite of Mao Tse-tung's wooing of the middle classes, Marxism-Leninism is in the saddle through millions of square miles of the Far East. The effect that this will have among Asian Communists outside China is too big a subject to deal with here. But every Government from India to Korea must be pondering anxiously on the impetus that the Chinese Communists' success will impart to their own rebels.

## THE SCOPE OF THE SCIENTIST

BY JOHN LANGDON-DAVIES

IN England it used to be assumed that politics and religion were potent intellectual stimulants likely, unless carefully controlled, to distort the processes of scientific thinking. We did not demand of the scientist that he should have no political or religious beliefs or prejudices, but we rather expected him to let us know when he was being a scientist and when a politician, when he was using scientific method, and when expressing his faith or his over-beliefs. The coming of the Marxist scientist has bedevilled all that, for he is under an inner compulsion to place his scientific achievement at the service of his political faith. That he so seldom finds a difficulty in doing so shows that his faith springs from forces very deep within his unconscious mind. Moreover, he is intellectually menaced by the tremendous snob-appeal of science to-day. It is always nice to be appreciated, and since the Communist Party is the only political body in Britain that seems to take scientists seriously—always provided they are Marxist scientists of course—such men find themselves tempted, quite bluntly, to use their scientific reputation to pose as profound political thinkers who ought to be consulted on all the major issues of the day.

It is essential when a book like Professor Blackett's *Military and Political Consequences of Atomic Energy*\* is studied to bear all this in mind. For here is virtually a claim by a distinguished scientist that because he has a well-trained brain he must be assumed to be as realistic, as objective, in the political field as he is in his own scientific field; that other people are wrong politically because they lack his scientific objectivity and that it is a positive duty for ordinary citizens to take their political cue from the scientists.

Professor Blackett, although a nuclear physicist, had nothing to do with the creating of the atomic bomb. His special qualification is based on his wartime association with Operational Research, in which he did valuable work for all the Services but particularly in anti-submarine warfare. He was appointed to the Advisory Committee on Atomic Energy set up by the British Government in 1945 and soon found himself opposed to the views of his colleagues. Indeed, while his colleagues were more or less in agreement with what has come to be known as the

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\* By P. S. M. Blackett. Turnstile Press. 12s. 6d.

American plan for control, Professor Blackett became a wholehearted supporter of the Russian point of view. But he probably does not feel that his views are in any way conditioned by his Marxism, or by the inevitable sympathy with Stalin-Molotov-Vyshinsky-Gromyko Russia that such a philosophy seems to involve. They are due to his realistic military thinking and his realistic political thinking, lack of which had caused his colleagues to build their plans on false bases. His book is intended to inject the necessary realism into our military and political thinking.

Since much of Professor Blackett's argument is likely to surprise many readers, it should be emphasized that he is most careful to quote those authorities who support his point of view; he also quotes the weakest and most foolish arguments of those who disagree with him. It may be summarized as follows. Strategic bombing of Germany was not a decisive factor but a gross mistake. It did not materially help the U.S.S.R. The main cause of Germany's defeat was the Russian land campaigns. The Battle for Britain was almost lost owing to the initial error of concentrating on bomber production. The foolishness of those responsible for our air strategy was not shared either by the Germans or the Russians who wisely eschewed strategic bombing from the start.

In the same way, strategic bombing did not materially contribute to the defeat of Japan, since her defeat was already certain before it began. The campaign was successful owing to Japan's poor state of air defence, but it was unnecessary.

If strategic bombing with normal high explosives was unnecessary, far more so were the two atomic bombs. Admittedly they caused great destruction, but even this must be discounted in view of the exceptional circumstances. Professor Blackett gives it as his considered opinion that the effectiveness of the atomic bomb has been grossly exaggerated. He quotes the American Survey :

The most instructive fact at Nagasaki was the survival, even when near ground zero, of the hundred people who were placed in tunnel shelters. . . . Without question, shelters can protect those who get to them against anything but a direct hit. . . . It appears that a few feet of concrete . . . furnished sufficient . . . to prevent serious after effects from radiation.

He does not quote the British Report on Hiroshima and Nagasaki which takes a rather different line :

The figure of 50,000 dead from one atomic bomb in average British urban conditions is probably the most important which this report contains. It shows that much the most serious effect of the atomic bomb is in producing casualties. The problem of providing against and of treating gamma-ray casualties in particular is exceptionally grave and difficult. (Para. 88 of Report of British Mission to Japan.) . . . The overall picture, then, is sombre. Even ignoring changes in attack and in the development of the bomb, the damage figures given, say, in paragraph 89, are very serious. And these figures are a measure only of the blast effect of the bomb. With them must be kept in mind the grave problem of fire, direct and indirect, which the bomb has created, which has been discussed in paragraphs 62-68. Both are overshadowed by the scale of casualties produced by the bomb, which make the mere

disposal of the dead a major problem. The figures given in Chapter VII speak for themselves.

One feels that it suits his argument to quote only statements minimizing the bomb's effect. It is not such a bad bomb after all.

With regard to future technical developments, Professor Blackett believes that nothing very important is likely to happen during the next few critical years. He does not believe that guided missiles with atomic warheads are to be expected. He thinks that nothing lighter than the invulnerable B29 bomber will be able to carry the load, an opinion that does not prevent him speculating on "the possibility that close formations of day bombers would have to be abandoned, since all aircraft might be destroyed by a *single enemy suicide fighter armed with an atomic bomb*." Equally surprising is it that he brushes aside the orthodox contention that the atomic bomb radically alters the nature of strategic bombing by concentrating the damage within a very short time. This is tantamount to saying that the effect of bombing on Germany would have been no more serious if all the damage had been done in a week instead of being spread over years, with recovery periods in between.

It will be sufficient comment to quote para. 89 of the report of the British Official Mission to Japan. Having made the necessary adjustments for British conditions, the writers sum up :

Consider a British urban area with an overall housing density of about 15 per acre (including open spaces) and a population density of about 45 per acre : and apply to it the radii of damage listed in para. 38. The explosion (of a similar atomic bomb) would demolish or damage beyond repair approximately 30,000 houses. The number of houses requiring extensive repair would be approximately 35,000 ; the number temporarily uninhabitable and requiring first-aid repairs would be between 50,000 and 100,000. Thus a total of roughly 400,000 people might be rendered temporarily homeless, of whom about one-half could return to their houses after lesser repairs. Not all the remaining 200,000 would constitute a rehousing problem : because about 50,000 of them would be dead or would die within eight weeks, and a comparable number would require extended hospital treatment.

Now Professor Blackett insists—against some authorities—that one atomic bomb equals not more than 3,000 tons of ordinary bombs. Will he tell us where in the last war the dropping of 3,000 tons produced a defence problem anyway comparable with this as to numbers of casualties, of dead bodies, of ruined houses, of houseless people to be dealt with in a matter of hours ? He may be right. The atomic bomb may not be a saturation weapon but it is unsatisfactory that he does not give his reasons for disagreeing with the British experts' report or even mention its existence.

The discussion of the strategic consequences of the atomic bomb is weakened by the author imagining that there is anywhere in the world a competent military strategist who is unaware that the infantry are needed to consolidate in victory the attack initiated by other arms. He makes mincemeat of advocates of press-button war. He shows that it is absurd to imagine America crushing the U.S.S.R. by dropping a few hundred bombs and calling it a day. But it did not need a book by a leading

practitioner in operational research to convince intelligent people of that.

In this chapter, Professor Blackett gives examples of his realistic political thinking to back up this realistic military thinking. Because American fighting services believe in strategic bombing, "there is no need to seek ideological motives . . . to explain recent events in the Eastern European countries bordering on Russia. The possession of atomic bombs by America and the constant threat of their use against the U.S.S.R. provide sufficient, even though not the only motive, for the consolidation of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia." That Russia's policy is chiefly to insure bombs dropping in these countries, and not on her own soil is not the official view of the Cominform, which is perhaps one reason why the *Daily Worker* is careful to tell us that Professor Blackett is not a communist but a Fabian. In any case, the thesis is meaningless unless Professor Blackett is prepared to state that if the Americans had no atomic bombs or did not believe in strategic bombing Russia would have been content to remain behind the Curzon line.

This chapter contains another odd piece of "realistic political thinking." The author advises us to adopt a policy of armed neutrality in the event of an American-Russian war. "Though America might rate very highly the value of atomic bomb bases in England, the invasion of England by American forces is improbable on many grounds. Equally a Russian invasion from Europe would be a highly formidable task." The U.S.A. might not invade us but would they be likely to help us with food and raw materials if we remained neutral? How will Professor Blackett feed us? On the other hand, very few will quarrel with the author's summing up: "A relatively few atomic bombs would bring considerable added military power to a nation which was already very strong in conventional armaments, in particular land forces. Whereas, a very large number of bombs would not add decisively to the military power of a nation deficient in conventional armaments and land armies, since the lack of power of follow-up drastically limits their value."

At this point, let us sum up Professor Blackett's view to military realistic thinking. First, strategic bombing is a strategic error. Secondly, the atomic bomb will not make strategic bombing any more successful. Thirdly, the atomic bomb is nothing like so devastating as has been made out. Fourthly, future technical developments look like improving the defence against the attack. Fifthly, the atomic bomb, useless for strategic bombing, has on occasion great tactical value if used in conjunction with large land armies. Sixthly, Russia is most unlikely to attack the U.S.A. with atomic bombs in any circumstances, but will use its bombs, when they are made, for tactical purposes against U.S. air bases, invasion fleets, concentrations of armaments. Now, none of these conclusions are due to Professor Blackett's authority as an atomic scientist. The first five propositions are all denied by at least as many atomic

scientists as are likely to support them. As to military strategists a majority disagrees with the first two propositions, almost all deny the third, opinion is about equally divided on the fourth. But all are agreed that a large army + bombs is stronger than either army or bombs alone. It is hard to see what difference in current opinion about control of atomic energy would result even if Professor Blackett proves to be right on all six counts. Yet this is one of the author's fundamental reasons for writing this book.

Let us now examine his opinions on the history of control hitherto. He is wholeheartedly in support of the veto. His argument is that if a power is strong enough to be able to resist sanctions it must have the right to veto anything of which it disapproves. Though this may be quite true, there is a good deal more to say about the veto question and atomic energy. Russia may be quite right from her own point of view in refusing to consider veto modifications, but what the U.S. representative said, and what Professor Blackett once more does not quote, was : " I want to make very plain that I am concerned here with the veto power only as it affects this particular problem. There must be no veto to protect those who violate their solemn agreements not to develop or use atomic energy for destructive purposes." Quoting this, the Additional United States Memorandum continues : " Voluntary relinquishment of the veto on questions relating to a specific weapon previously outlawed by unanimous agreement because of its uniquely destructive character, in no wise involves any compromise of the principle of unanimity of action as applied to general problems." The American point of view is plain as daylight— " If you agree to do something but at the same time insist on vetoing other people taking action in case of your breaking your word, then the agreement isn't worth the paper it's written on."

Professor Blackett has nothing good to say of any American action with regard to atomic power. Here are some propositions which he sincerely believes to be true : (1) It was known by those responsible for it that the dropping of the atomic bombs on Japan would have no effect on the outcome of the war. The talk about saving thousands of lives was sheer hypocrisy. (2) The bombs were dropped to forestall a Russian victory over Japan. They were " not so much the last military act of the second world war, as the first act of the cold diplomatic war with Russia now in progress." (3) The Baruch Plan " must be considered historically as an astute move and a very considerable victory for American diplomacy." Professor Blackett loathes any suggestion that there has been any " generosity " in the words of a single American. (4) The Baruch Plan was a deliberate effort to keep Russia back industrially by denying her the use of atomic energy for industrial purposes. Professor Blackett does not merely argue that this would be a result of the Plan ; he is convinced that it is its object. It is not surprising therefore that Mr. Vyshinsky in his November 4 speech quoted this book to " prove " what had hitherto

been simply a Russian official outlook.

Moreover Professor Blackett has been careless in quoting his document on this matter. Criticizing the Lilienthal report, he says : " It emphasized that developments of atomic energy for peaceful and military purposes run parallel for a long way, so making difficult the control of one without stopping the other." This is developed later into the thesis that capitalist imperialist America is really primarily concerned with doing all that it can to prevent Russia's industrial growth. One would hardly expect that in fact the Lilienthal report says : " The facts suggest quite clearly a reasonable and workable system that may provide security, and even beyond security, foster beneficial and humanitarian uses of atomic energy." Indeed, a careful reading of the Lilienthal report, the Baruch speech and the other memoranda would convince the average reader that though the plans may not be practicable in the present state of international ill-will, they are a genuine attempt to find solutions and remarkably free from a spirit of nationalist self-interest.

(5) Professor Blackett believes that the Baruch Plan was designed to give the U.S. an excuse for retaining atomic bombs until all weapons of mass destruction had been outlawed. He quotes a loose sentence from Baruch's speech : " Before a country is ready to relinquish any winning weapons, it must have more than words to reassure it. It must have a guarantee of safety, not only against the offenders in the atomic area but against the illegal users of other weapons—bacteriological, biological, gas—perhaps—why not ? against war itself." Now, in the first place, this is not part of the Baruch Plan but merely some rhetoric from a Baruch speech. Professor Blackett might have reassured himself and his readers if only he had continued the quotation : " In the elimination of war lies our solution, for only then will nations cease to compete with one another in the production of and use of dread ' secret ' weapons . . . If we succeed in finding a suitable way to control atomic weapons it is reasonable to hope that we may also preclude the use of other weapons adaptable to mass destruction. When a man learns to say ' A ', he can, if he chooses, learn the rest of the alphabet too."

Professor Blackett believes that the American motive was to " pull the fast one " and to trap Russia into something which would give them legal justification for hanging on to atomic bombs ; the rest of us do not think so. The cleavage of opinion has nothing to do with nuclear physics, operational research or objective political thinking. To put it in the most courteous way possible, it is because Professor Blackett in *political questions* is no less subjective than we are. Far from helping us to be objective, realist politicians, he underlines the inevitable subjectivity of all political thought. As a Marxist he believes in an ultimate clash between Russia and America, as a sensitive kindly human being he hopes this will be deferred until Russia's fifth columns can win bloodless victories ; as a scientist he believes in his own objectivity and falsely believes that

extends to all his fields of interest and, since the average westerner does not believe with him politically, he believes that he is either stupid or ignorant or wicked.

But in one thing he does not believe, and that is in the success of his book. "When the book was finished I found I had signally failed to write a recipe for action which would be likely at the present time to commend itself to the political taste of a majority of my countrymen. But for this the state of the world, not I, must take the blame." The picture of Professor Blackett as the only man in the human regiment marching in step is not accurate. Indeed, he has given a recipe for action to politically and militarily realistic Americans. The lesson of this book is that the U.S.A. should think seriously of organizing a large land army without delay, since atomic control is impossible and atomic power more valuable as a tactical adjunct to vast land forces than as a press-button weapon.

That is far nearer political realism than Professor Blackett's nearest approach to a practical suggestion: "If America continues to insist . . . on treating atomic energy in isolation" (but *vide* Baruch on learning to say 'A' first) "then clearly there will be no possibility of a bargain, and so none for an agreement, till Russia has drawn more nearly even with America in the field of atomic energy." Therefore let us have general disarmament talks, with the U.S.A. swapping bombs for Russian divisions. Professor Blackett does not say whether the veto is to apply to the verification of the swap.) Moreover, "when Russia has approached more nearly to the level of industrialization of America, there will be a better chance of reaching an agreement within the single field of weapons adaptable to mass destruction."

If we accept all this, then the U.S.A. realists will surely be entitled to sit back and remind the world that the bombs are after all theirs, that they are well ahead technically of Russia in all ways, and that they will keep their bombs and their lead. I do not think Professor Blackett intends this to be the moral of his book. But he is not objective in his political thinking because like the rest of us he *prefers* one intellectual solution to another *before* he examines the facts and not after. It is the reason why the incursion of scientists into politics has been such a dismal failure. Professor Blackett, unlike some of his contemporaries, has not yet reached the stage in his desire to be a political organizer of ceasing to be a scientist, but he has begun to allow his scientific reputation to be used in the service of one side in power politics. His book does nothing to reconcile Russia and the U.S.A. In his heart he believes reconciliation impossible.

The pity is that it is quite certain that Professor Blackett was not seeking the plaudits of the *Daily Worker* and Mr. Vyshinsky. He was sincerely wanting to help. All this goes to show that scientists are no more necessarily politicians than players on the violin. It is to be hoped that the problems of terrestrial magnetism, crystallography and genetics will soon recover their older charms for some of our Nobel Prize winners and prospective prize-winners.

## THE LAW OF LIBEL AND THE PRESS

By P. H. WINFIELD

TWO modern decisions in which the proprietors of journals were cast in damages for libel excited great dissatisfaction among authors and publishers. In the first, *Hulton v. Jones* (1910) A.C. 20, a humorous article in the *Sunday Chronicle*, on a motor-race festival at Dieppe, imputed immorality to a man at the festival whom the author named Artemus Jones and described as married and "a churchwarden of Peckham." There happened to be a barrister resident in England, who was named Artemus Jones, was unmarried, did not live at Peckham and had not visited the festival. He sued the proprietors and publishers of the journal for libel and the House of Lords held that he was entitled to £1,750 damages, for, though the writer of the article testified that he did not know, and had never heard of, the barrister, the defendants were liable if any reader of the defamatory matter might reasonably think that it referred to the plaintiff, and it was held that this condition was satisfied. Thirty years later, the Court of Appeal, in *Newstead v. London Express Newspaper, Ltd.* (1940) 1 K.B. 377, extended this principle in two directions. They held (1) that the principle applies where the statement truly relates to a real person X, and is mistakenly, but reasonably, thought to refer to another real person who happens to have the same name and who therefore can recover damages against the publishers, as the statement is false with respect to him though it was not intended to refer to him; (2) that absence of negligence on the publishers' part is, by itself, no defence, but that it may be considered by the jury in determining whether reasonable persons would regard the statement as referring to the plaintiff. X, of course, has no claim for libel, because truth (technically styled "justification") is a complete defence to a civil action for libel.

These two decisions certainly appear to be hard on authors and publishers whether of books or journals, for they are put at the mercy of coincidence in the sense that any unscrupulous person whose name happens to be identical with that of the real or fictitious person referred to, can threaten to sue the author or publishers for libel, although he has not in fact suffered a tittle of damage. It may, of course, be urged that the author or publisher need not worry in such a case, for, if he is sued, it is probable that the jury will find that no reasonable person would identify the person mentioned in the publication with the plaintiff; but it must be borne in mind that, however confident the defendant may be of a favourable verdict, what he prefers is freedom from litigation rather than probable success in

and it is not uncommon for him to prefer making some payment to the plaintiff in order to prevent the bringing of what may be styled a "gold-digging" action. The reform of this part of the law recommended by the Committee is that, where a statement which is in fact defamatory of the plaintiff is made by a defendant who was not aware that it would be understood to refer to the plaintiff, the plaintiff's remedy should be restricted to requiring the defendant to publish an explanation and apology, and that if such explanation and apology are published no damages should be recoverable, provided the defendant took reasonable precautions before publication of the statement to ascertain whether or not it was defamatory.

In the law of defamation, the defence of fair comment is of considerable importance to the press. Its essence is an expression of opinion on a matter of public interest, that is, anything which may fairly be said to invite comment, or challenge public attention. The facts on which the comment is made must be true; the Committee were of opinion that this qualification, although quite fair on the face of it, has been too strictly applied by the courts during the last half-century, for it has been held that where the alleged libel consists partly in statements of fact and partly in expressions of opinion, the defence of fair comment may fail if one of the statements of fact is incorrect only in some minor and apparently unimportant detail. Moreover, it is not always easy to distinguish between fact and comment. The reform recommended by the Committee is that the defence should be successful if (1) the defendant proves that so much of the statements of fact, contained in the alleged libel, is true, that the Court is justified in holding that any remaining statement, which is not proved to be true, does not materially add to the injury of the plaintiff's reputation; and (2) the Court is also of opinion that the facts upon which the comment is based are matters of public interest and that the comment was made honestly by the defendant. This second condition is already fully recognized by the courts, as it is an essential of the defence of fair comment.

Another defence to an action for defamation is "qualified privilege." It applies where the defendant was under a duty to publish, or had an interest in publishing, a statement which the plaintiff alleges to be defamatory, and the person or persons to whom it was published had a corresponding duty or interest in receiving it; it ceases to be a defence if malice on the part of the defendant is proved. As for the press, the Law of Libel Amendment Act, 1888, granted qualified privilege to any fair and accurate report published in a "newspaper" of (i) a public meeting which the Act defines as any meeting *bona fide* and lawfully held for a lawful purpose, and for the furtherance or discussion of any matter of public concern, whether admission to the meeting is general or restricted; (ii) any meeting of the following bodies (except where neither the public nor any newspaper reporter is admitted): (a) a vestry, a town council, a school board, a board of guardians, or a statutory local authority; so, too, any committee of any of these bodies; (b) commissioners authorized

to act by statute, or other lawful authority ; (c) select committees of the Houses of Parliament ; (d) justices of the peace at Quarter Sessions assembled for administrative or deliberative purposes. The defence of qualified privilege is not available if the defendant has been asked to insert in his newspaper a reasonable statement contradicting or explaining the report in an earlier number of the newspaper. The Committee recommended several amendments of the Act of 1888. First, they considered the definition of "newspaper" in the Act as too narrow, for it did not include any periodical whose numbers are published at intervals exceeding twenty-six days, and thus all monthly magazines were excluded. The Committee urged that the interval should be extended to thirty-six days. Secondly, in view of the extension of matters of public interest since the Act of 1888, they recommended the extension of qualified privilege to fair and accurate reports of proceedings in public of (1) legislatures of the British Commonwealth and Empire ; (2) any foreign Sovereign State, or federal unit of it ; (3) any international body in which the United Kingdom has a representative ; (4) any international Court ; (5) any Court exercising jurisdiction over the whole territory of a member of the British Commonwealth ; (6) any statutory register, or any document open to inspection by the public ; (7) any notice or advertisement published by a Judge or Master of the High Court of Justice. Moreover, the Committee considered that in these cases the newspaper ought not to be bound to publish, at the request of the person defamed, a letter or statement in contradiction or explanation of the original statement. They enumerated other extensions of fair and accurate reports, but subject to the duty of inserting in a later number such a letter or contradiction.

Proof of truth ("justification") of a statement alleged to be defamatory is a complete defence to an action for defamation. This leaves open the question whether a statement, which is true but is an offensive invasion of personal privacy, is any wrong at all according to English law. An example would be the publication of a true statement that a woman, in her adolescence had given birth to an illegitimate child ; and no mention is made of the fact that the woman, since her adolescence, has become a highly respected member of the community. No action for defamation is maintainable, because the statement is true ; nor is there any direct decision in English law as to whether it is a distinct tort for which an action can be brought, though there are conflicting *obiter dicta* with respect to it, and I think that it is still open to the House of Lords to hold that it is a tort. To increase their circulation, among readers whose chief attachment to a newspaper is based on interest in vulgar rubbish, some journals include paragraphs that merely pry into a person's private life. By all means let the press have a free hand in publishing what is news, but a distinction ought to be drawn between that and the stuff to which I have referred. Of course, I do not urge that there should be an unqualified right of personal privacy, for every one must tolerate some

publicity and no one wishes newspapers to be like blue-books. It is only an offensive invasion of privacy that ought to be illegal. I admit that "offensive" is a vague term with respect to what may be called borderline cases, but I think that our courts could safely be entrusted with the task of deciding whether there is sufficient evidence of offensiveness to let the case go to the jury. The Committee were against any recommendation for a civil action concerning the invasion of privacy because they thought it would make the task of the author or the journalist impracticable, but they admitted that our existing criminal law could be applied to it, for in criminal law truth is not a defence to a prosecution for libel, unless the statement is for the public benefit.

Another matter of practical importance to publishers is whether they can insure themselves against liability for libel, by inserting an indemnity clause in their contract with the author of what they are publishing; that is, that he shall be liable to recoup them for any damages and costs incurred by them in litigation, actual or threatened, by the person libelled. If the publishers know, or it can be imputed that they know, that the matter is defamatory, the indemnity clause is invalid and nothing is recoverable under it; but if the publishers neither knew nor had any reasonable ground for knowing that the matter was defamatory, the law is doubtful as to whether the indemnity clause is enforceable, though a *dictum* of Coleridge, J., in *W. H. Smith & Son v. Clinton* (1908), 99 L.T. 840, favoured its enforceability. In view of the doubtful state of the law, the Committee recommended that a statute should be passed to make the indemnity recoverable in such cases.

Some years ago, a group of distinguished authors published a letter in *The Times* urging, *inter alia*, the abolition of trial by jury in libel cases. I took up the matter in a reply, also published in *The Times*, in which I expressed surprise at the impugnement of the fairness of juries, who, historically, had done much to assist in establishing the freedom of the press. A question that repeatedly occurs in an action for defamation is whether a reasonable person would regard the words as defamatory. Now it is common knowledge that the reasonable person in our law is typified by the jury, where trial by jury is allowed. Frequently, and especially during the recent war, the judge sits without a jury. In view of the innate sense of justice that is characteristic in general of our English Bench, I think that one can usually rely on the judge to personify the reasonable person; but, on the whole, I think that in trials for defamation, the advantage of having a jury is that it enables the court to get a lay expression of opinion on what is pre-eminently a matter of lay interest, and is also a matter on which there may not be universal agreement among laymen.

There are other matters of legal interest to the press, some of which were considered by the Committee, but not dealt with here. My hope is that a Bill will soon be submitted to Parliament embodying the reforms of the law recommended by the Committee.

## ADMINISTRATORS IN EDUCATION

BY NORMAN FISHER

**T**HROUGHOUT our society administration has increased, is increasing and is unlikely to be diminished. It is difficult to see how the educational system can escape, but the worst consequences may perhaps be averted if the problem is dispassionately studied. Serious discussion has been impeded by the assumption on the one side that it is possible to do without administration altogether, and on the other that there are no grounds for dissatisfaction.

In politics and in war, in business and industry and in the social service our scale of organization grows larger, our aims more ambitious and our techniques more elaborate. The speciality of the expert technician becomes more recondite and the expert in consequence more impotent outside his speciality, while the amateur, whether as voter, shareholder or elected representative, finds it more and more difficult to maintain his power. "They told us," said the Lancashire miner, "that we should have pits after th' election. Now t' Government's got 'em." Controlling power passes to the administrator, the full time, professional specialist in management. He may begin his career as what, for the want of a better term, may be called a primary worker, tilling the land, for example, or digging coal or teaching children. But when he becomes a senior officer of the Ministry of Agriculture, a trade union secretary, Coal Board official or chief officer in a local government authority, he will find himself engaged in processes and applying principles in which it matters little whether he is dealing with soil, coal or children. His outlook and sympathies come to be identified more with those of other administrators than with the primary workers of the particular industry or profession with which he deals. By the primary workers the administrator, whatever his origin, tends to be regarded as alien in outlook, remote from their own everyday problems and hence incompetent in direction—unable, as it were, to distinguish, should he by accident meet them, between a turnip, a lump of coal and a child. However irrational these resentments it is true that in a society which seeks to organize itself for justice and freedom the central problem is that of power. Freedom and administration, or, to use the wider and more accepted phrase, freedom and organization, are complementary but mutually hostile. Organization obliterates freedom unless the power of administrators is checked and balanced by some other power. Freedom, in short, is a balance of power, always precarious.

All this is as true in education as elsewhere, the problem being to find

the equilibrium which enables administration to function effectively but not excessively : that which makes possible administration of the highest quality while preserving freedom where it matters most. In considering this it is as well to have some idea of the characteristics which the practice of administration evokes, and of the peculiarities of the civil service and local government service through which public education is administered. It will perhaps be clearer if the words "administration" and "bureaucracy" are used in the sense that bureaucracy is the medium through which administration works ; that the administrator is something more than a bureaucrat to the extent to which he has power to make policy, to take decisions and to organize on his personal responsibility.

The essence of administration consists of the low but not over-common talents of common sense and getting on with other people. To succeed at all the administrator needs the virtues of the clerk, in being assiduous, accurate and tidy. He must be able to turn rapidly from one matter to another and on occasions to deal simultaneously with more than one. He needs enough courage to make up his mind and enough judgment to be more often right than wrong. He must have an acceptable personality, being adept at persuading or, failing that and much less satisfactory, dominating others. All this makes the competent general manager, senior staff officer, trade union secretary or permanent under-secretary. To rise above this level are needed, first, a restless, ruthless energy, devoted to the daily criticism and examination of procedure and organization ; secondly, and one stage further, intellectual force, giving preoccupation with ends throughout the incessant dealing with means, and illuminating daily effort with the vision of creative imagination. The last in combination with the rest may produce a Haldane, a Morant, or a Napoleon.

Since few can sustain requirements so exacting, administrators lapse into their own occupational diseases, the bureaucratic vices of pomposity and priggery, timidity and inertia, or chronic cynicism. Since none is wholly immune it is important to learn the symptoms of incipient *bureausis* ; for example, meaningless verbiage and jargon ; intellectual exhaustion, manifested in distaste for literature and the arts ; illusions of indispensability, indicated by habitual overtime and disinclination for leave, and delusions of grandeur, indicated by black coats and striped trousers. The peculiar virtues and vices to which any administrator is liable depend a good deal on the particular bureaucracy, whether commercial, military or public service, through which he works. The notorious vice of bureaucracy is inertia, combined with an ineradicable tendency to increase its own size and power. The gravitational urge of bureaucracy is towards a state in which it is universal, omnipotent and immobile. These tendencies are restrained or encouraged to different degrees by different forms of bureaucracy.

The tradition of the British civil service, the central authority, was made by gentlemen, who, being men of power in their own right, were not

anxious to increase the power of the State. Under the rule of law the civil service was responsible for its actions to Parliament and to the courts. It had, therefore, to act in accordance with principles which could be justified and defended. If principle is to govern the actions of an organization its members must have precedents. They must consult, as it is said, up, down and sideways before acting and they must record the reasons for each decision made. Again, there was considerable decentralization to elected local government authorities ; the latter being given the main initiative while the control authority retained financial control and paternal supervision, gently admonishing the backward and severely reprimanding the precipitate. In short, the British civil service was designed for justice and integrity rather than speed or efficiency or even expediency. Long service induced the habit of preferring impregnable positions to action stations. Two world wars, the development of State capitalism and of social services have placed a severe strain on this system demanding vigorous and sustained action in the application of a central policy, but at the same time by increasing its size have increased its tendency to inertia. The solution is sought not in a *droit administratif* but in administrative lawlessness, in legislation giving power to Government departments to issue decrees, giving vaguely defined powers, and the right to determine, without appeal, their own disputes. The elected local government authorities have their duties increased while their powers are diminished by growing central supervision. Important functions are taken away from them and retained in Whitehall or given to new local authorities whose members are not elected, but representatives of other organizations, together with a proportion of ministerial nominees.

The local government service is more personal and more democratic than the civil service. Its officers are accustomed to the initiative in policy and to direct contact with their subject matter. Working in almost daily contact with elected members they lack the anonymity and detachment of the civil servant, enjoying their successes at first hand and living long with their mistakes. Not less incorrupt they are necessarily more empirical in their approach to problems than are the civil servants. Egotism, personal vanity and *folie de grandeur* are their especial temptations. They need the common rather than the gentlemanly touch. Few of them in their visits to Whitehall have not observed a glance charged with implication that they have or are about to commit some unpardonable breach of taste which the central authority has already decided to ignore.

In education, local government began with the school boards, set up in 1870. The Government had formerly paid grants to the elementary schools established by the religious bodies, but there were now to be "provided" schools, founded and maintained from local rates assisted by Exchequer grants. Each school board was to ensure that there were enough elementary schools, whether "provided" or "non-provided" in its area, and was given administrative supervision over both. Within

Twenty years elementary schooling was universal, free and compulsory in England and Wales. This schooling was little more than elementary instruction, it being the parent's duty to cause his child "to receive sufficient elementary instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic." The first steps in the education of the masses could be no more than to produce widespread literacy and to instil the rudiments of social discipline. There was no large number of men and women of a high standard of education willing to become elementary school teachers. No educational system can advance faster than its leaders, a fact which contributed, in the 1860's, to the introduction of the notorious method of "payment by results." It is not surprising that the school boards were meticulous in order and regulation. Their administrative methods, thorough, efficient and detailed, have survived in the local education authorities to the present day. Nevertheless, considerable freedom, once payment by results was abolished, was allowed to the individual elementary school in its curriculum and methods of teaching. One reason for this was that the system was, as it remains, a dual system of "non-provided" voluntary and "provided" schools. The fact that the former retained their own managers with a considerable voice in the staffing and running of the schools was not without effect upon the "provided" schools. Again, a large number of local boards, organize as they might, could hardly produce the uniform and rigid arrangements which might have proceeded from a single Government department directly responsible for schools. The division of power between the central and the local authorities made it easier for the elementary schools to develop some independence of administrative control. Thirdly, universal elementary schooling was introduced in a country which already possessed an ancient tradition of education practised in the old foundations of the public schools and grammar schools, and in the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. These were independent institutions, individually endowed, most of them granted wide freedom within their foundation deeds, and with a tradition that great authority was given to their headmasters.

By the end of the nineteenth century the school boards had succeeded sufficiently in their primary task to make a tentative beginning on the next—the establishment of a system of secondary education. The Act of 1902, however, abolished the boards and transferred their powers, with the added power to provide "higher" education, to the general purpose local government authorities of the county and county borough councils. A number of minor local government authorities within the counties were given powers for elementary education only and were known as "Part 3" authorities. Many of the foundation grammar schools were now forced by poverty into the public system, bringing with them a vigorous tradition of resistance to outside authority which was not without effect on the local authorities' new grammar schools. Meanwhile a new central department had been established by the Board of Education Act

of 1899. The board was the creation of Morant, an administrator of the first rank, who when he became Permanent Secretary set out to raise the standard of education and of its administration, substituting leadership for supervision. Regulations were codified and clarified, and issued with memoranda designed to inspire and illuminate educational policy. An *Handbook of Suggestions for Teachers* was published : the title is significant. The board, and to-day the Ministry, neither owned nor administered schools ; it employed no teachers, prescribed no text books and no curriculum. It was advised on policy by a consultative committee, whose reports had far-reaching effects. His Majesty's inspectors built up a tradition of friendly co-operation with the local education authorities, and of sympathetic assistance and stimulation to the schools. It is hard to understand why popular usage applies to such a system so misleading a term as " State education."

Undoubtedly the Act of 1944 changes more than the name and status of the board. Not only is the Minister given power, in the contemporary legislative fashion, to determine a large number of matters upon which dispute is likely to arise : it is his duty " to promote the education of the people of England and Wales . . . and to secure the effective execution by local authorities under his control and direction, of the national policy for providing a varied and comprehensive service in every area." Since the Act, the work of a Coalition Government, was preceded and accompanied by the most widespread discussion and consultation, it is reasonable to interpret this as expressing a national determination to create a better educational system without obstruction from local parsimony and indifference, rather than as a preliminary to a drastic reduction in the rôle of the L.E.A.'s. So far there has hardly been an opportunity to see it tested in the former sense and it would require a morbid imagination to find evidence of the latter. There are minor irritations and delays in good measure but as yet no reason to regard them as much more than the inevitable result of shortages and controls, and of the increase in administrative procedures common to most aspects of our society. Among the sufferers are His Majesty's inspectors, whose advice and inspiration in the schools is diminished by the time which they spend as local liaison officers, approving orders for knives and forks or instructing L.E.A.'s on the number of W.C.'s to be installed in temporary premises hired to accommodate the swelling school population.

The price of decentralization, however, is constant vigilance and there is no need to impute sinister designs to the Ministry in order to assume that L.E.A.'s will have to keep a jealous eye on the trend of the times. The reduction of their powers, the imposition of additional duties combined with less discretion and more supervision in their discharge, is the lot of local authorities in other matters than education. If this is the feeling of local education authorities about their relation to the Ministry it is not less the feeling of the divisional executives (which have superseded

the Part 3 authorities) in their relations with the counties. The system of delegation to divisional executives\* is loudly criticized, on the one hand by some of the executives themselves (particularly those which were Part 3 authorities), who complain that they have insufficient power to be effective; and on the other by those who consider that the divisional executives are an elaboration of the administrative meshes in which the schools are struggling, and that being small units of restricted power, the quality of their work will always be low. There is no doubt that two-tier administration is expensive and slow. Yet, as the Local Government Boundary Commission has recently recognized, education above all social services demands close local interest and access to authority. It may be true that divisional delegation in a number of areas is not working well. It will not be reasonable to decide that it cannot work well before the authorities concerned have had time to make a serious attempt to deal with the problems by radical changes in their administrative procedure.

Much of our hope for the future is attached to long term planning and this principle is integral in the Act of 1944, where the settlement of the dual system is bound up with the development plans under which the future of each school must be settled. Since long term town plans are now prepared for every area it is in any case necessary to forecast the size and distribution of the school population so that the sites and playing fields needed may be safeguarded. Indeed the educational development plan is no novelty since it derives from the "schemes" which were to be prepared under the 1918 Act; it has the advantage of presenting society with a bill of unredeemed educational pledges. It may be doubted, however, whether this kind of planning should be applied beyond the physical necessities to the problems of the organization and content of education. Educational theory notoriously suffers from the fact that it is possible to make almost any statement, to construct almost any thesis, without danger of positive and immediate disproof. Theory, therefore, is constantly modified by the results of experiment in the schools, but even there the difficulty of measuring results leaves ample room for purely subjective judgments. Meanwhile, in their efforts to show in their development plans how secondary education will be provided for all children according to their several necessities, many L.E.A.'s have become involved in loud and acrimonious controversy on the relative merits of multi-lateral, bi-lateral or single function secondary schools. Apart from grammar schools, a few secondary modern schools in up to date buildings, and an insignificant number of technical schools, none of these exists in the form proposed and no-one may build them at present. Nothing is known from experience of the curriculum or organization of multi-lateral schools, nor of the relation of the secondary technical schools to

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\* A lively and topical criticism of divisional executives is contained in an essay by Mr. John Armitage in *Partnership in Education* (Jarrold): a more dispassionate summary is PEP's "Councils and their Schools" (*Planning*. Vol. XV. No. 287).

the science side of the grammar or to the upper part of the modern schools. At a time when our schools are as overflowing with children as they are deficient in books and teachers it might be thought that epochal decisions on policy might at least wait upon experience. Controversy, however, is often more violent, more enjoyable and more capable of indefinite prolongation when no one quite knows what it is about. Pilgrims have been known to quarrel over the details of life in paradise and prisoners have exchanged blows over the correct interpretation of civic rights. It may well be that the current rattle of educational fetters is no more than educational day dreaming, the convulsive rapture of the faithful, turning from the sad realities of the present to the bright vistas of a private world. Meanwhile there is a real danger that "experimental" schools will be established not to experiment freely but to prove the rightness of this formula or that, so that the experimental evidence so badly needed will be obscured and distorted. Clearly there are grounds for anxiety if educational policy is to be worked out in this way instead of being evolved through the schools themselves, and those teachers may be excused who echo Sydney Smith's : "Short views, for God's sake, short views."

Education is a process centred in schools—a truism apt to be forgotten by administrators—and the combination of democratic control and individual independence in our national schools is of the first importance. Freedom in our educational system is dependent on the dispersal of power. The freedom of the individual school is unlikely to be maintained at its present level if the balance of power and distribution of function between school, local education authority and the central authority are distorted. Predominant power remains with the local education authority whose democratic, even vulgar, constitution and outlook have been far from ineffective as instruments for universal elementary education. The advent of universal secondary education has revived in some quarters, the desire for *ad hoc* bodies, detached from the local government areas, such as regional boards associated with the universities. The quality, and the future, of the L.E.A's as we know them will, however, depend a great deal upon the quality of their administrative officers. It is they who should ensure a proper division of power between elected members and officers, a proper division of spheres between committee and governors, and governors and headmaster. The task of the administrator in education is, at its lowest, to create opportunities for inspired teachers ; at its highest, to contribute to the inspiration. Educational progress is made by great teachers ; the administrator in education should be no less than the headmaster a great teacher and leader of men. "Nor can this commonwealth which we have imagined ever till then see the light of day and grow to its full stature."

(The author is Deputy Education Officer for Lancashire.)

## TRADE UNIONS IN TRANSITION

BY HERBERT T. BANYARD

IN 1945 the first Labour Government with power to carry out its pre-election promises was elected to the House of Commons, and proceeded to give legislative effect to its proposals for the public ownership of the mines and railways and to pursue its policy of full employment. But the trade union movement, which had grown from one and a half millions in 1893 to eight millions in 1948, while supporting a policy of nationalization, seemed unable to make up its mind about the part it ought to play on the controlling boards of the new nationalized industries. This indecision dated from 1915 when the T.U.C. passed a resolution expressing the view that the nationalization of public services, unless accompanied by increased democratic and political control, was not necessarily advantageous to its members.

A few years later and during the first Labour Government, Mr. Herbert Morrison, then Minister of Transport, sponsored a Bill to bring London transport under public ownership. It was his opinion that the controlling board should be appointed by the Minister at his discretion, solely on the grounds of the members' efficiency in transport matters. This view was accepted by the railway unions but hotly contested by the Transport and General Workers Union, who demanded direct representation. This conflict was continued at successive trade union and Labour Party councils for many years and it was still largely unresolved in September 1939.

But the imperative need for full production in the shortest possible time led to the formation of joint production councils. These were comprised of elected representatives of the workers sitting, in an advisory capacity with the employers to examine production and allied problems. By 1944 some 4,500 of these councils were functioning, bringing the trade unions into direct contact with the problems of production.

In their *History of Trade Unionism* published in 1902, Sidney and Beatrice Webb described the unions as "a continuous association of wage earners for the purpose of maintaining or improving their conditions of employment", or again: "The fundamental purpose of the trade unions is the protection of the standard of life—that is to say, the organized resistance to any innovation likely to tend to the degradation of the wage earners as a class." Forty-six years have done little to falsify these definitions but much to emphasize their incompleteness. In 1944 the Trade Union Congress in their interim report on post war reconstruction listed as their main objectives:

1. Unquestionably that of maintaining and improving wages, hours and conditions of labour . . .
2. The trade union movement is concerned with the opportunities which exist for the worker to obtain work. 'Full employment' is an aim which the trade unions have always pursued . . .
3. The trade union movement exists to extend the influence of work-people over the policies and purposes of industry, and to arrange for their participation in its management.

Since the development of the trade union movement had been one of almost unremitting struggle from the fight against the Combination Acts, through the sufferings of the Tolpuddle martyrs, to the long and bitter strikes of the early days of this century, it was not surprising that the changed status of the trade unions puzzled many of its members, whose horizons were clouded by the memories of unemployment in the inter-war years.

Between 1921 and 1938 never less than ten per cent. of the insurable population were unemployed. In 1931 Mr. Neville Chamberlain said : "I do not think . . . . that we can look forward to the reduction of unemployment to a comparatively small figure within, shall I say, the next ten years."

No small wonder then that in those years the trade unions were mainly concerned with stopping the rot that had set in among their membership, and maintaining as far as possible the standard of living of their members. The passing years have not changed the aim of the trade unions but have made necessary a revision of their methods. It is now a movement that is integrally a part of our social system and not merely a force in opposition to a system of society, controlled by and in the interests of the employing class. In place of conflict with the existing social economic structure, the movement has now the power to influence vitally the course of events.

In a State committed to a policy of full employment, the bargaining power of the trade unions was bound to increase and the restraint by them of the use of this new power has been marked by a high sense of responsibility. So far, however, as the rank and file are concerned, the evidence suggests that the mere change of ownership of the mines and railways has not produced the desired millennium. Nor, under bureaucratic control, do they feel a greater responsibility for the industry than when it was controlled by private ownership. In fact the removal of control from the local pit manager to a board, whose headquarters may be many miles distant, is a continual source of irritation to the miner and productive of much misunderstanding and bitterness.

Many miners and railwaymen are now demanding that more men from the Labour and trade union movement shall be appointed to positions of authority on the controlling boards. The demand, however, does not carry the unanimous support of the trade unions, some members feeling that the divided loyalty inherent in such appointments would be destructive to their independence. If, however, the trade union movement has committed itself to a policy of industrial democracy where direct control

industry has been rejected in favour of persuasion and participation in management, then the problem of its representation on the controlling boards is one that calls for immediate solution. This was one of the points to be discussed at the recent conference of trade union leaders. The T.U.C. is very much alive to the necessity of providing men and women who by experience and training are able effectively to handle the problems involved in management. They feel that only by a long term policy of specialized education can some of their members be fitted for such positions. In this connection it might be well for them to take a leaf from the book of their American colleagues. In the U.S.A. about forty per cent. of the large trade unions maintain their own research departments. This research is not limited to labour problems, but investigates questions of production, time and motion study, and general incentives. In the inter-war years it was not uncommon for plants, heading for bankruptcy, to seek the assistance of these research departments in an attempt to solve their economic and production problems.\*

Only very limited educational facilities are available here for such purposes, and there would appear to be a need for extensive co-ordination of the work and syllabuses of the Workers' Educational Association and labour colleges, like the Working Men's College at St. Pancras, Morley College, Westminster, and various Mechanics' Institutes, all engaged in adult working class education. The enlarging of the work of the T.U.C. Educational Trust with the provision of more places at Ruskin College and the London School of Economics, might well provide the movement with trained personnel adequate to deal with the problems of management.

The extension of educational facilities and the dissemination of knowledge may well play an effective part in removing the psychological obstacles to increased production. It has been a common feeling among the trade unionists that to increase production either by extra effort or longer hours was the quickest way to obtain a place in the queue at the labour exchange. Working oneself out of a job was, it was argued, the inevitable result of increased production, and the restrictive practice of certain groups of employers supported this point of view. The manipulation in the past of prices and supplies did more to check increased production than is commonly supposed. Allied to this fear of extra effort being the surest way to get the sack, was the other bogey that increased production would merely swell the profits of the employing class, with little or no return to the workers.

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\*The departments were available, *inter alia*, to check and explain to their members the highly complicated calculations involved in fixing the rate for the job by modern time and motion study methods. It is a common practice in the U.S.A. for the management of a plant to fix a standard of production and then in various ratios to offer incentive bonuses to the workers for any increased production. The terms vary considerably and much solid work has been done by these research teams in satisfying themselves and their members that the rate of the proposed dividend is fair to both sides. This independent check by their own representatives satisfies the workmen, and enables production to be maintained at a high level without the feeling that the bosses are reaping all the benefit.

To remove these fears from the minds of the men and women concerned and to create confidence that additional effort will not mean unemployment or be to the advantage of one section of the community, is the supreme task of the Government and the trade unions. In these times of shortages everyone is inclined to think that his lot is much harder than anyone else's, and trade unionists are no exception to this rule. That so much of the old fear and distrust remain after three years of a Labour Government is a measure of the extent of the problem and the lack of understanding of Government policies. Much of the responsibility for this state of mind rests squarely on the shoulders both of the Government and the T.U.C., who have failed to make plain to the man in the street the 'know how' of their respective policies. As a result, a disproportionate amount of attention is directed to what is wrong in our system and little credit given for much solid achievement. It is only fair, however, to point out that the number of days lost in industrial disputes in the three years from May 1945 amounts to seven millions, whereas the comparable figure for 1918 to 1921 was a hundred and fifty millions.

In order to carry out the policy of full employment, and to avoid friction in the future, it will be necessary to bridge the gap in the conception of full employment that exists between the minds of the economists and those of the trade unionist. To the economist the idea means that a worker who is surplus in his own trade need have no fear that a job, not necessarily of the same type nor in the same locality, will be available to him; while to the trade unionist, generally speaking, it means another job at his own trade in the area to which by custom and tradition he is attached. To offer a redundant shipyard worker in the Tyne area a job in a tin-plate factory in South Wales, makes nonsense for him of the idea of full employment. The T.U.C. set out its attitude to this problem in 1944:

The right to work which the trade unions have sought to establish is not merely a claim for a job of any kind. We are concerned to ensure that every worker shall be able, within limits determined only by the need to safeguard the reasonable freedom of others, to choose freely, work which he prefers and for which he is trained, at rates of wages and in conditions commensurate with his skill and the nature of the work.

The lack of mobility due to the housing position and the reluctance of the average workman to move from an environment in which he feels secure and from a job in which he has acquired skill, to a new industry or environment is one of the major problems associated with the policy of full employment. The existence of a pool of unemployed, the traditional method of securing the mobility of labour, stands condemned by most modern industrialists. Full employment makes the return of such conditions an impossibility. The success of the new policy will depend in a large measure not only on economic planning but also on the creation of a feeling of confidence among the rank and file, about the reality and continuance of full employment as a matter of Government policy. In the creation of such feeling trade union co-operation is vital. The fruition of such a policy will not be felt for many years; meanwhile

temporary unemployment of a local nature as envisaged in the Government's Economic Survey of 1948 will be inevitable. The translation by the T.U.C. of the mechanics of this new policy into the language of the average trade unionist will do more to achieve its success than all the speeches of economists and Cabinet Ministers.

At this critical stage in the development of the trade unions it is apposite to welcome the examination of British trade unionism by PEP\*. This inquiry was begun towards the end of the war and suspended in 1946, owing to the feeling that the position of the trade unions was undergoing a profound change. The work was continued in 1947 when it was decided to concentrate on some of the main questions affecting Trade Unions, and the six headings are :

1. Trade Union Structure.
2. The Formal Machinery of Negotiations.
3. The Subjects of Negotiation.
4. The General Staff of Labour.
5. Relations on the Job.
6. Trade Unions in Post War Britain.

Within these limits the research undertaken is very thorough, and in summing up the sixth section, the problem is shown in sharp relief :

It must never be forgotten that lack of confidence is something deeply rooted in the mind. The process of abolishing suspicion will be slow and surrounded with difficulties, both material and psychological. The Government, the employers, the press and the public itself will all have a part to play. So too has the trade union movement. Its participation as of right in the affairs of the country is now firmly established, and it has shown by its behaviour that the trust placed in it has been justified. If it continues to meet its new responsibilities in the same spirit and to adapt itself to its new rôle, it will make an even greater contribution to the prosperity of Britain, and will be able to look forward in all confidence to still greater strength and usefulness.

These studies will enrich the thought of all those interested in the vital problem of our recovery. The memory of those hungry inter-war years lingers in the minds of the older men in industry, and to secure their full co-operation will need from the Government a constant stream of explanatory factual information regarding the country's economic position and policy ; from the employers effective joint consultation in all matters affecting the man's employment and future, and from the men faith in themselves, in their industries and in the country's future.

For nearly a generation trade unions have fought and argued for such an opportunity as confronts their members to-day. In some measure what kind of economic future can be enjoyed will be largely determined by the answers given to the questions postulated in this survey.

*The author, now in the traffic department of a large industrial concern, was formerly an active member of the Amalgamated Engineering Union.)*

\*British Trade Unionism : Six Studies by PEP. Political and Economic Planning. 15s.

## A CHILD IN GEORGE LANSBURY'S HOUSE

BY DAISY POSTGATE

### II

When I was five years old I went to school. It was one of those enormous, gloomy structures built proudly by the London School Board with large draughty rooms and innumerable stone stairs. It is still there in Wrights Road, and one day the London County Council will pull it down and build a modern school in its place. The Council has done so much to improve conditions in these schools bequeathed to it by the London School Board that I am sure it is only a question of time and very important, money. It was to me a prison-like and terrifying building. School was universally feared and hated and I did not look forward to starting at all. Most children screamed and kicked and had to be carried in for the first few days, but I was too docile for that. Besides my sister was already a pupil teacher and was upstairs helping with the big girls, so I felt more secure than most.

It was not nearly so bad as I thought it was going to be, and being better dressed and cleaner than the others, I quickly became a favourite and was allowed to sit in the front row near the teacher's table and the fire. There were about sixty of us, mostly ragged and very dirty. We were not expected to do much work in the babies' class; we were given slates and pencils and small sponges and allowed to scribble and draw as much as we liked. To clean the slates we spat on them, circulating the spit with our sponges. The teacher seemed mainly employed in unbuttoning the drawers of the stream of children who, through lack of foresight or nerves, or a desire to escape into the open air, continually asked to be allowed to go to the lavatory. And then, as they returned one by one and presented their behinds to her, buttoning them up again. Neat little knickers with elastic tops had not been invented, and those who were too shy to ask for help, either dispensed with the business of undoing them to their own discomfort, or if they had not the courage to ask for that assistance, just walked about with a ridiculous flap hanging below their frocks. A number of children did not wear any at all. What should they? Their mothers wore a draughty garment which was merely two legs held together by a waistband and called "open drawers" and regarded as an advance on none at all, which had been common for centuries, so why bother to put the children in these new fangled bags

and didn't they already wear a woollen vest and a flannelette chemise, a sash belt as an inadequate and unnecessary support for the back, a woollen petticoat, a flannelette one, and under a light frock, a white cotton one, or the tattered remains of these garments ; and weren't they long enough to keep the legs and thighs warm, they having once belonged to an elder sister, or made long enough to allow for growing ? It would only mean more washing.

I learnt to make gaily coloured paper mats and to count with sticks and chant the alphabet, and then I got ill. I caught ophthalmia, an unpleasant eye disease. I was glad to be away from school at first, but I soon found it was not going to be much fun. For my eyes were painful and irritated, and had to be covered with a poultice made of damp tea leaves ; and in the mornings I could not open them until they had been bathed. I was segregated from the other children as much as possible, and felt lonely. I had a picture book of nursery rhymes which I was allowed to look at when my poultice was removed, and I remember talking to a picture of Jack and Jill and to myself. " If I go away and count ten, then when I come back they will come out and play with me." I walked backwards and forwards to the door of the kitchen, repeating this to myself and adding five to the number on each journey. But alas, they remained firmly two-dimensional and I, after reaching as far as I could count, and causing my mother to ask rather irritably why I kept staring at her, looked round, unhappy and disillusioned, for something else to do. I had been convinced that they would come because Jill was looking straight at me with a friendly smile and had appeared to understand when I talked to her. She wore a lovely blue full-skirted dress, and as I cannot remember Jack at all, I think it must have been this and her golden hair which attracted me so much.

In the babies' class you were given a large picture each week for good attendance. They were about eight inches by six and I wanted one very badly. Week after week went by and there was always something which prevented me from getting one. Either I was late, or I caught a cold, or I got toothache, or something. But one week I managed to put in a full attendance and I got my picture. I rushed out into the playground waving it above my head to show my sister, and either the wind caught it, or it tore against a railing, I never knew. I found myself holding only half of it in my hand. I do not remember crying. The tragedy was too deep for that, but I was heartbroken. I carried the treasured piece home and kept it for a long time. I never got another. Either the authorities gave up issuing them or I put in a very irregular attendance. I cannot remember.

Fortunately it was the fashion for little girls to wear their hair cropped like the boys, and my mother followed the fashion. It was difficult enough with short hair to keep us free from lice. The heads of most of my little playmates were excellent breeding grounds and their necks and

arms were spotted with the red, painless circles made by bed fleas on those inured to them ; painful, irritating lumps from flea bites are only for those who have led sheltered lives. But my mother did manage to keep both our beds and heads free ; the former by the continuous use of insect powder and careful scrutiny each morning, the latter by combing what hair we had with a small-toothed comb dipped in a solution of carbolic lotion and methylated spirit each Saturday morning, ignoring our squeals and wriggles as the strong fluid stung our scalps and rolled down into our smarting eyes. I must have looked rather queer with my hair cut this way, with my staring round eyes and unusually high forehead. My mother was proud of my high forehead. Her father had admired it and instead of helping me to keep it covered she brushed my hair back and when poll combs became fashionable she bought me one and saw that I wore it. A poll comb was a half circle of comb which you pushed into your hair from the forehead back as far as the short ends of your hair would let you. As my hair was very short the result was remarkable because the fringe would not lie down but stood up like a halo on the top of my head. Later when we were allowed to grow our hair my fringe grew into the rest of my hair and the comb was a convenience and saved a great deal of trouble. But so long as I dressed my hair this way I retained a startled expression, and as I was not allowed to drape it gracefully over my forehead, as I wanted to, until I was too old to be disciplined, I looked most brazen and seemed to stare at people more than was fair to me. It was not my fault.

We used to go to the barber, a jolly little man with a brightly painted shop and a striped barber's pole hanging outside, to have our hair trimmed once a fortnight. Because we were so young we did not cause embarrassment to the workmen who called in for a haircut, and sometimes we had to wait until all the men were finished before our turn came. But we did not mind because when he had finished the barber would give us a farthing each, and my sister and I would race along to Mrs. R's. to spend it before we went home.

My father did not like jewellery of any kind. He never forbade us to buy beads with our pocket money : he had simply said that he did not like jewellery, although it would not have occurred to him to take any action if we had decided to drape ourselves with rings and necklaces. But because I knew he did not like trinkets I did not buy any, even though one little shop had a lovely row of blue beads for a half-penny which I did want to possess. But one day I bought a halfpenny prize packet and inside was a row of similar, but not quite as pretty, blue beads. I kept them in the pocket of my dress, and then the day came for the annual school photograph to be taken. I just had to wear my necklace. I found the photograph a little while ago—of a moon faced child with a gleaming forehead and a row of beads, the only child wearing a necklace, right in

the centre of the picture. I had been so frightened when I took the picture home, but nobody had seemed to notice it, or if they did, they did not mention it. But I felt guilty for a long time : in some way I thought I had let my father down.

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Partly because my mother always put my father first and partly because at the time I went to school he was already a local figure, I always felt he was a little detached from us. Not that he was not an extremely affectionate and interested father, but rather that he belonged to the people as well as to us and that we were part of something much bigger than the mere family. He certainly took an interest in us. He bathed me until I was quite big, blowing as he dried me as if he were grooming a horse. And even when I was sixteen he dried my hair for me. But he had many public engagements and did not sit in the kitchen with us in the evenings like the fathers of my school friends. He was a member of the Board of Guardians and by fighting a local election, he had become "different". He had been a Liberal until about 1892, but now he was a Socialist and although Bow and Bromley is a Socialist constituency, it was far from being one in the 1890's, and my little school friends quickly let me know that my father was, if not a freak, something quite unlike their fathers. They insisted that we must be rich. Rich on £3 a week with eight children ! One little girl was very angry because she had asked me if my mother had a room to let and I had not understood what she meant. "Of course," she said with a sneer, "you wouldn't because you're rich." I was only five years old and couldn't read and so had not understood the "Room to Let" cards in so many of the windows.

My father worked very hard in the timber yard. He started at 7 a.m. and finished at 7 p.m. As we lived on the premises he came into his meals usually covered with sawdust, and every day, as soon as he had finished his dinner he sat back in his chair, put his feet up, and went to sleep for ten minutes. My mother tried hard to keep us quiet, but did not often succeed. And through our noise he slept. He needed the rest very badly, especially during the Walworth election in 1895. I was too young to remember, but I have heard about that campaign so much that I sometimes think I do remember it. He fought as a Social Democratic Federation candidate. He and his friends found enough money to put down his deposit and little or none for anything else. When he finished work at 7 p.m. he would tramp across to Walworth, addressing meetings at street corners, in schools, and in public halls, tramping back again in the small hours of the morning. Sometimes he had enough money to ride, but not often. No wonder my mother put him first. She taught us to sing little songs like :

Sweep up the hearth and mend the fire,  
Mend the fire, mend the fire ;

Sweep up the hearth and mend the fire,  
For Daddy's work is over.

And sweep up the hearth she did, and put away her sewing of which there was always a large pile, and make us brush our hair and wash our hands. Often he came in for meals when we had all finished and she would have bought him a bloater which must have a hard roe, or a smoked haddock or have baked him an egg custard or an apple, or added some little luxury. We would sit around and watch him eat his food and always he would say : " There ain't going to be no core." But there was. We each got a little titbit. If he was tired he would say : " Who's going to get my slippers ? " and off one or all of us would rush, while whoever had remained behind would be untying the knots of his bootlaces. It wasn't that he couldn't tie bows, but rather as if his shoe laces were trying to squeeze in as much work during the day as he did, and got themselves tied up in knots in consequence.

On Sundays he would take us into Victoria Park where he addressed meetings for the Social Democratic Federation. With my two brothers and three sisters there were enough of us to make a crowd, and like a snowball it soon gathered more. My father had an enormous voice. He had learned elocution at a Band of Hope in Whitechapel when he was a boy, and knew how to produce his voice. He also believed in what he wanted to say and so said it with all the force and assurance of a convinced Socialist of forty years of age. We children were each given a bundle of the organ of the Social Democratic Federation to sell. It was called *Justice*, and small though I was when I first began I became a good sales woman. I can still remember the feeling of satisfaction I had when I took my first penny and handed over a copy of the paper to the purchaser. He shouted " Justice one penny " for all I was worth and frequently had to be told to shut up because I was drowning my father who was making speech. Also I found it difficult to recognize faces, and time after time would go up to the man who had given me my supply and ask him to buy a copy. He was very good natured and did not seem to mind, but I must have been very irritating because I remember doing it Sunday after Sunday. On one side of our little rostrum were the Atheists and on the other the Christian Endeavour people. Occasionally the Atheists had a speaker with a more booming voice than my father's, but not often, and although we must have disturbed their speakers they seldom disturbed ours.

*(The first part of this article was published in the November Issue.)*

## DISPLACED PERSONS NOW

BY NORMAN BENTWICH

THE problem of the refugees and displaced persons has been greatly reduced since the end of the war. At that time it was reckoned that one twelfth part of the population of Europe had been torn from its homes by the Nazi war machine: and when Germany was occupied by the Allied forces, no less than fourteen million foreign subjects were found there living in the most desperate conditions of serf labourers. Of that great homeless mass the large majority have been repatriated, some by their own efforts, some by the armies, some by the relief organization of the United Nations. But it is one of the tragic aspects of the disordered world that, in the fourth year since the end of the war, not only does the residue of Nazi victims remain homeless, but that millions more of refugees and uprooted persons have been gathered in Western Europe. For them, at present, the International Refugee Organization has not assumed any responsibility, because they are the victims not of Nazi, but of a later, oppression.

The International Refugee Organization, which was created by a majority decision of the Assembly of the United Nations in 1946, came into active being in the following year. It was not, however, finally constituted as a Special Agency till this year, because the minimum number of States—fifteen—which were required to adopt the constitution, and the assurance of the budget which was also required, were only attained in the summer of 1948, when Denmark joined the other fourteen just States. The Soviet Union and the Eastern block of States have refused to participate, though they had a full share in the deliberations of the committee, appointed at the First Assembly of the United Nations, which drew up the constitution and defined refugees and displaced persons so as to meet their demands. During its first year of operations the International Refugee Organization was working through a 'provisional committee'; and a large body of sign-writers will be required to erase the letters P.C. from all their buildings and equipment.

When it took over the responsibility for repatriation and resettlement of the hard core of the displaced persons and the refugees, the number for whom it was to find a home was about one million. It was estimated that that task should be accomplished within three years. The experience of the past year gives hope of the accomplishment within that time. During 1947-1948 some 250,000 have been repatriated or resettled: and far the larger part placed in new homes. The million D.P.'s were

composed principally of Poles, Balts, Yugoslavs, Ukrainians and stateless Jews. The bulk of the Poles have been sent back to Poland : but the D.P.'s under the Organization did not include the 300,000 for whom the British Government and the nations of the British Commonwealth have accepted responsibility. Most of the Poles who still await settlement are Jews : and for them Palestine is the chosen home. Now that the State of Israel is open to immigration without the restrictions of a British mandatory administration, the prospects are brighter for the exodus of the 200,000 who remain in the camps.

Repatriation, so far as it can be carried out, is now nearly completed. It was one of the principles which divided the western and the eastern powers, in the constituent committee of the Organization and in the subsequent debates of the Assembly, that no displaced person should be forced against his will to return to his country of origin. There should be full opportunity of persuasion by the authorities of his native land, but no compulsion, provided that he established that he had been a victim of political or racial persecution. The rest of the Poles and of the other nationals, who remained in the camps, are unwilling to return to their native land in northern, central and eastern Europe, and for them therefore a country of fresh settlement must be found. When the representatives of the nations examined the problem in 1946, it was thought that these homes would be found primarily in the countries overseas, in the United States, in the vast territories of South America and in the British Dominions of Canada and Australia. Paradoxically, the experience of the last two years has shown that the absorptive capacity of western Europe is greater than that of the New World. The country which has received the largest share of the homeless is Great Britain. The operation known as "Westwardho", for bringing from the British Zones in Germany and Austria those displaced persons who were fit and prepared for work in the mines, the industries and the homes of Great Britain, has already transported some 80,000 men and women. It is indeed one of the limitations in that movement, which the director of I.R.O. criticized severely, that the worker normally is brought without his family, because the stringent conditions of housing render family immigration difficult. Yet, it seems heartless to break up families that have been torn from their homes for years. France, Belgium and Holland and the Scandinavian countries have taken a smaller share of the displaced persons, usually subject to the same restriction. The United States of America has so far received only an insignificant immigration from the camps : but the Displaced Persons Act, which was passed through Congress this year, provides for the entry into the United States during the next two years of 200,000, in addition to the established quota of immigrants. The conditions are very selective and designed to secure the introduction particularly of Balts and of agricultural workers. President Truman made it clear that in his view the provision was niggardly, and should be

corrected so as to allow an immigration of double the number—400,000 within four years. If that were done, America could make a substantial contribution towards solving the new and growing problem of displaced persons from the ex-enemy countries.

Canada is taking her fair share, and during the last year has been steadily increasing her absorption. The monthly intake is between 3,000 and 4,000, of whom a considerable part are transported by air direct from the camps. The International Refugee Organization has built up a small fleet of some fifteen ships, which take the selected settlers from Europe to their destination. But the economy in time of air-travel, with the consequent saving of costs of maintenance and days of work, is making that other form of transport of growing significance.

The South American States, particularly Venezuela, are taking their part : but, like the United States, are selective about the class of immigrant whom they will receive. The Commonwealth of Australia, too, has admitted a few thousands : and will increase its absorptive capacity when more shipping is available.

The writer recently spent some weeks in Austria, and had the opportunity of visiting the camps of the Yugoslav and Jewish displaced persons in the province of Salzburg. It may give a clearer idea to describe the conditions in which they live to-day. The Yugoslavs, who are mostly royalist officers, inhabit a hutment camp in the lovely valley of Pongau, not far from the famous spa of Bad Gastein. Their habitation is rough, and their way of life Spartan. They receive from the Austrian Government a ration of 1,500 calories a day. Most of the men are employed on the Austrian railways and on constructional enterprises near the camp, but very few are integrated into the Austrian economic life. Venezuela is the main outlet for emigration. A number of the women have been taken to England for domestic service : and, happily, few children are left in the camp. On the banks of one of the beautiful lakes in the Salzkammergut the World Council of Churches conducts a home for the old people from the displaced persons camps, Yugoslavs, Balts and others, who are too old to emigrate. It is a group of pleasant villas inhabited by some 200 old men and women, some military, some civilians. The intention is that they shall end their days in peace and in beautiful surroundings. It is an example of Christian charity, which needs to be multiplied if there is to be a humane solution for the problem of these old exiles, unable to return to their country of origin and without relatives who will receive them overseas.

The physical conditions of the Jewish displaced persons are somewhat better, because their ration of food is supplemented by the American Joint Distribution Committee, to bring it up to 2,000 calories a day. It is said that for the Jews the initials D.P. stand for Destination Palestine : and, during the last months there has been a steady movement of emigrants to the State of Israel. In each of the camps is a young Palestinian,

usually a teacher, to bring heart and cheer, and to inspire the children and the youth. In each camp there is a school : and the walls of the school rooms are decorated with pictures of the Jewish agricultural settlements and portraits of the Jewish leaders. The camp artists paint the walls of the dining-room with murals of the Promised Land. The Jewish displaced persons will not work in the Austrian or the German economy : and a scheme has been devised for work within the camp which is directed by officers of the International Refugee Organization. There are workshops for tailoring, weaving, shoe-making and woodwork. The product of the industries is used partly for the inmates, partly for the needs of the Refugee Organization. The workers are paid by a system of points which have a higher purchasing value than Austrian currency. In each camp is a P.X. shop, on the model of the American Army Postal Exchange. Goods which are largely manufactured articles from the camp industries, but also include food and cigarettes, are purchasable there for the points cards. Those inmates of the camp who are employed by I.R.O. and are paid in Austrian shillings can exchange that currency for points, and so use their earnings to better advantage.

The steady outflow from the Jewish camps to Palestine and, in a lesser measure, to Canada and the United States, is to an extent balanced by an inflow from the countries of Eastern Europe, particularly from Rumania. Last year that uninvited immigration reached the scale of a flood : but the rush has been checked : and all the camps show a substantial diminution of numbers.

The direction of the camps is in the hands of the International Refugee Organization, whose staff is international, drawn largely from the United States, the British Dominions, Holland and France. They bring a sympathetic understanding to their work. They are alive to the yearning of their homeless charges, and encourage them to bring some amenity and beauty into the stark conditions of the camps : to plant little gardens, to grow vegetables, to organize entertainment. One is left with the impression that the problem of the remaining displaced persons of the old order, that is, of those who were displaced at the end of the war, can be solved during the next two years, which is the term set for the I.R.O.

A new problem, however, bigger in volume and at present intractable has been created since the end of the war. It is the forced movement of millions of the population, German or of German origin, from central and eastern Europe to Austria and western Germany. They include millions of *Reichsdeutsche* driven out of East Prussia and Silesia, and millions of *Volksdeutsche* from the Sudetenland and other parts of Czechoslovakia from Hungary, Rumania and the Baltic States. They are not the responsibility of the International Refugee Organization which, by its constitution is precluded from helping them. They are not at present the responsibility of any organization of the United Nations. Their maintenance is left to the hard-pressed administrations of the British and American zone

of Germany and the Government of Austria, and to the charity of voluntary bodies. Their conditions of life are wretched in the extreme. Here is a challenge to humanity. The misery of the victims of hatred against Nazi brutality cannot serve as just retribution for the sufferings of millions of victims of the Nazi persecution.

Yet another urgent problem of displaced persons has been created in the most recent months, not in Europe but in the Middle East, through the flight from their homes in western Palestine of 400,000 Arabs. Count Bernadotte in his last testament compelled the attention of the United Nations to its responsibility for meeting that human need. Since he was murdered, the problem has increased in gravity. The International Red Cross, the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations, and the principal philanthropic organizations of the world have been marshalled to deal with it. But the measure of relief afforded is still altogether inadequate. Larger inter-governmental action is called for. The problem of the refugees and the displaced persons, whatever their origin, is an inescapable world issue and a test of our civilization.

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## THE WIND-HARP

BY JANE MORRISON

It filled the hallway with delicate sound  
At grandmother's. Round  
And round its prisms spun in the breeze  
And made with ease  
A music less than music ; fascination  
Rather than hope of melody held me to its conversation  
With the wind. It brought to mind  
A grove of trees I had loved which grew behind  
Grandmother's house ; but now I saw that they  
Were trees like ghosts of trees, gray  
And all about them sang the alien voices, the blended discord  
Which never stopped and never roared.  
When doors closed out the breeze, a breath of air  
Floating down the stair  
Could stir it. I love it still, after long years  
Have forgotten, for I am like it ; enchanted ears  
Set me spinning to silent music, happy-bright, mood-pinned,  
A harp for the wind.

## ISAAC WATTS

BY EVELYN P. HOPE

“IN Quires and Places where they sing . . . .”, says the Book of Common Prayer, doubtfully. It is remarkable how small a part singing played in public worship until the last 250 years. Psalms were chanted, and an occasional metrical version shocked the conservative, but no hymns. We have, indeed, a number of beautiful English poems of much earlier date, which we now use as hymns, and many fine Latin and German hymns, which have since been translated into English, already existed. But English Christians, and particularly nonconformists, were uncertain whether in the words of a pamphlet of the time, “Christ . . . hath commanded His churches . . . to sing the Psalms of David, as translated into metre and musical rime with tunable and conjoined voices of all the people together . . . or any other song or hymn that are (sic) so composed to be sung in rime by a prelimited and set form of words.”

Nor was this distrust confined to the Society of Friends, whose founder George Fox, rather surprisingly, often began his service with singing. Baptists, for example, were equally set against the innovation, and when Benjamin Keach, pastor of the church of which Charles Spurgeon afterwards was minister, succeeded in introducing singing, the larger part of his congregation left him and “took refuge in a songless sanctuary.”

It is fortunate that in the year 1695 the people of a little church in Southampton (then a small, quiet seaside town) did not share the usual prejudice. The son of one of its deacons, a delicate young man of twenty, just home from college, thought the hymns they sang quite unworthy of the sanctuary. His father, to whom he complained, challenged him to write something better, and he did. The hymn he wrote was sung the following Sunday in the little Independent Meeting Room. It was “Behold the glories of the Lamb.”

That young man was Isaac Watts, the bicentenary of whose death fell on November 25. James Montgomery calls him “almost the inventor of hymns in our language” and “the greatest name among hymn-writers.” Josiah Conder says: “Watts was the first who succeeded in overcoming the prejudice which opposed the introduction of hymns into our public worship” and Garrett Horder, in *The Hymn Lover*, that “Dr. Watts is the real connecting link between the age of metrical versions and that of hymns, since his Psalms partake of the nature of both.”

Watts wrote many hymns for the Southampton Independents during

the two years he stayed at home studying. And afterwards, when he became a preacher, he wrote a hymn for each of many of his sermons. Six hundred of his hymns are known. One is reminded of Schubert's six hundred songs : and the analogy may be pushed further. Both were young men. Schubert died at the age of thirty-one, and Watts's famous volume of hymns was published when he was thirty-three. Neither prized his gift as subsequent generations have done. Schubert declared in the year of his death that he "hoped to hear no more about songs, but to devote himself to opera and symphony." And Watts wrote (in a letter to the *Gentleman's Magazine*) : "Though I have sported with rhyme as an amusement in younger life and published some religious composures to assist the worship of God, yet I never set myself up among the numerous competitors for a poet of the age." And "I make no pretence to the name of a poet."

It was only after considerable persuasion that he consented to the publication of his hymns. There is a delightful letter from his brother Enoch, pleading with him to "show" his hymns "in print", saying : "At the same time you contribute to the universal advantage, you will procure the esteem of men most judicious and sensible" and also urging : "You cannot be ignorant what a load of scandal lies on Dissenters, only for their imagined aversion to poetry." That letter was written in 1700, but it was another seven years before the first edition of the hymns appeared (the copyright was sold for £10), and the paraphrases of the Psalms were not published till 1719.

Watts's hymns achieved instant and permanent popularity. Yet, in his own day hymn-writing was the least regarded of the talents for which the brilliant little doctor was admired. He won fame as an author. His *Logic* was long used as a textbook in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge : his *Improvement of the Mind* was almost equally well known, and generations of devout persons treasured *The World to Come* and his other religious books. He was a man of learning : a student of science as well as of theology. Living in the days of Newton (the *Principia* was published when Watts was thirteen), he eagerly accepted what he called, "the new Philosophy." He speaks of "the great Sir Isaac Newton, the first of philosophers, the glory of Great Britain." And in one of his religious essays he illustrates his point by an imaginary picture of Newton using a prism to demonstrate "the nature of light and colours." The work of Dalton also stimulated his lively imagination ; he writes : "If a soul had but a full knowledge and command of all the atoms of one solid foot of matter . . . What strange and astonishing influence would it have over this world of ours ! What confusions might it raise in distant nations, sending pestilential streams into a thousand bodies, and destroying armies at once ! And it might scatter benign or healing and vital influences to as large a circumference !"

Nor was he unskilled in the arts. He was musical—perhaps a hymn-

writer ought to be. He painted—the walls of his study were hung with his sketches and with portraits of his friends. And on the table his lute lay beside his microscope and his Bible.

But above all, Watts was a preacher : “ Did the great God ever appoint *statues* for His ambassadors, to invite sinners to His mercy ? ” he cries. “ Where the preachers are stone, no wonder if hearers are motionless ! ” Profound, apt, eloquent, he was one of the great preachers of his own or any other age.

Yet, with all his gifts, this most eminent of early nonconformists was as retiring as his great reputation would allow him to be. It is said that he never led in conversation, and, though a brilliant and witty talker, he shrank from people who made a note of his *bons mots*. His gentle, sensitive soul disliked satire. “ His humility,” says Dr. Jennings, “ like a deep shade, set off his other graces and virtues, and made them shine with greater lustre.” One can scarcely believe that he ever passed to a stranger whom he had overheard asking : “ Is this the great Dr. Watts ? ” the well-known verse :

Were I so tall to reach the pole,  
And grasp the ocean in a span,  
I must be measured by my soul—  
The mind's the standard of the man.

Certainly, the verse is his ; it occurs in a long poem, but the whole incident seems most unlike him. Of course, he was small ; Defoe, in *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*, speaks of “ Sir Tom (Abney) splitting texts of Scripture with his diminutive figure of a chaplain.” His height has been variously given as about five feet. He was also slight and frail in appearance. His complexion was fair and pale and his sensitive oval face was lit up by quite remarkable grey eyes. Like so many brilliant people, he was highly strung and nervous and he was all his life dogged by sickness.

One gets the impression that, like Mr. Lear, he must have been very pleasant to know. It is delightful to think of the great man decorating the parlour walls of his hostess's (Lady Abney's) house, after the fashion of the day, with panels of his own painting, or writing his catechism for the under fours and composing hymns for the children of the Abney family (These were the first hymns ever written for children.) Gratitude and generosity were outstanding characteristics, and he seems to have had genius for friendship. Imagine a man who could go, as he did, to stay with friends for a week, and remain for the rest of his life without ever wearing out his welcome ! Judging from letters which have survived the regard in which his many friends held him must have amounted almost to reverence. This, for example, from Dr. Doddridge : “ Thy heaven is enriched by your removal thither, I hope, Sir, to find in you a councillor and a friend . . . and I cannot but admire the goodness of Providence in honouring me with the friendship of such a person.” Yet he could unbend for their entertainment. Watts himself recounts a

causing story of how on an occasion when he was staying in Tunbridge Wells, some verses in praise of the Duke of Marlborough's daughters were found in a tavern, and "the author being unknown, some persons were ready to attribute them to me, knowing that I had heretofore dealt in verse." Watts did not know the ladies except by sight, but he "was named" of the verses, so: "That afternoon I rode as usual for my health, and it came into my head to let my friends see that, if I would choose such a theme, I would write in another manner than the nameless author had done." The following are two of the verses he wrote:

The warlike thunder of his arms  
Is less commanding than her charms;  
His lightning strikes with less surprise  
Than sudden glances from her eyes.

The muse that dares in numbers do  
What paint and pencil never knew,  
Faints at her presence in despair,  
And owns th' inimitable fair.

Which inspired a brother minister to comment:

What wondrous charms must to that fair be given  
Who moved a mind that dwelt so near to heaven!

And how is this for a writer whom we usually regard as profound in matter and majestic in style?

Virgins, who roll your artful eyes,  
And shoot delicious danger thence;  
Swiftly the lovely lightning flies,  
And melts our reason down to sense.

Watts never married and there is no evidence that he ever wished to do so. The outline of his life is simple. He was born on July 17, 1674, in a roomy and substantial house in French Street, Southampton. His father's occupation has been variously described, but it seems certain that he was at one time a schoolmaster. He was a man greatly respected in the town and was for forty-eight years a deacon of the Independent Church there. The mother of Watts was of huguenot extraction, a daughter of Alderman Taunton. There is a pathetic description of the young mother taking the baby Isaac to the prison where his father was confined because he was a nonconformist, so that Isaac the elder might have his first glimpse of his son. The father was again imprisoned for the same cause a few years later and from the time the boy was nine years old until the death of James II, when he was fifteen, his father was obliged to live away from home for fear of persecution. One is not surprised that some of young Isaac's earliest verses were composed on the accession of William and Mary. Then, later, the great hymn-writer included in one of his most inspiring hymns, the line: "And grants the prisoner sweet release" he must have thought of the father to whom he was devoted. And it is little wonder that he remained a staunch nonconformist to the day of his death.

He began to learn Latin at the age of four and early obtained great proficiency in that language and also in Greek and French. Everyone knows the story of his mother, when Isaac was seven, offering a farthing (no mean sum to a child in those days) for a rime. Upon which he brought her :

I write not for a farthing, but to try  
How I your farthing writers can outvie.

Less well known and even more remarkable is the acrostic which he wrote about the same time. Here is the second half :

W ash me in Thy blood, O Christ,  
A nd grace Divine impart,  
T hen search and try the corners of my heart,  
T hat I in all things may be fit to do  
S ervice to Thee, and sing Thy praises too.

Watts received his schooling at Southampton Grammar School, where he was a favourite and brilliant pupil. At the end of his school days he refused a chance of going to one of the universities saying firmly that he was determined to take up his lot amongst the Dissenters. About that time two significant entries appear in his diary : " Fell under considerable conviction of sin. 1688. And was taught to trust in Christ, I hope 1689."

Instead of the university, Watts went, in 1690, to the Dissenting Academy in Stoke Newington (then a pretty country village), where he spent four years as a diligent and distinguished student, preparing for the ministry. " Such he was," says Dr. Johnson, " as any Christian Church would rejoice to have adopted."

Nonconformist colleges in those days were places of discussion as well as of instruction and independence of thought was encouraged. These lines, taken from a poem " to the much honoured Mr. Thomas Rowe, the director of my youthful studies," are significant :

I hate those shackles of the mind  
Forged by the haughty wise ;  
Souls were not born to be confined,  
And led, like Samson, blind and bound :—  
But when his native strength he found  
He well avenged his eyes.

His college days over, Watts returned to his father's house in Southampton, where he spent his twenty-first and twenty-second years in private study, and where many of his hymns were written.

In October 1696, at the age of twenty-two, Watts went to live at the house of Sir John Hartopp, where he remained for six years as tutor to Hartopp's son. Watts was devoted to this young man, and it was for him that he wrote his famous *Logic*, his *Improvement of the Mind* and his *Treatise on Astronomy and Geography, with the Use of Globes*. (How many people who use the familiar rhyme to remind themselves of the signs of the zodiac, remember that they owe it to Watts ?) He lived as a value

member of the family—there were seven pretty daughters—and the Hartopps took him with them to the Church of Dr. Channey in Mark Lane. It was there that he preached his first sermon, on his twenty-fourth birthday. He preached frequently, and soon became Dr. Channing's assistant. Upon Channing's resignation in 1701 Watts was ordained minister of the Mark Lane Church, and remained its minister until his death, although the church outgrew the Mark Lane premises. His health, however, was so indifferent that the church soon gave him an assistant, a Mr. Samuel Price. They were colleagues for over forty years, and their relations were of the happiest. In prefaces to his books, Watts several times refers affectionately to Price : and in his will he left a little legacy to his "faithful friend and companion in the Ministry", "as only a small testimony of his great affection for him." And Price, when he died, desired to be buried as near as possible to Watts.

The congregation to which Watts was called to minister was a distinguished and remarkable one. It included, beside the Hartopp family, Richard Cromwell (son of the Protector), Mrs. Bendish (Bridget Ireton), her mother's second husband (Charles Fleetwood), Oliver Cromwell's brother-in-law (Charles Desborough) and most important of all in the life of Watts, Sir Thomas and Lady Abney. These last were the friends to whose magnificent and historic mansion he went in 1712 for a week. A few years later Sir Thomas died. Watts remained with the widow and her daughter. In 1735 Lady Abney removed, taking Watts with her, to the much smaller house at Stoke Newington, which had been built and left to her by her brother, the dearest friend of Watts's youth. There she cared for him in his frequent periods of ill health, and there, on November 25, 1748, he died in perfect calmness and confidence. "The plain promises of the Gospel are my support," he said during his last illness, and : "If God has no more service for me to do, through grace I am ready."

It was Lady Abney who, with Sir Thomas Hartopp, placed above Watts's grave in Bunhill Fields the memorial bearing the characteristically modest epitaph which he wrote for himself because, it is said, he feared something more fulsome :— "Isaac Watts, D.D., Pastor of a Church of Christ in London . . . after fifty years of feeble labours in the Gospel, interrupted by four years of tiresome sickness, was at last dismissed to his rest."

The Rev. John Baker wrote to Dr. Doddridge nearly two years before Watts died : "Lady Abney, with inimitable steadfastness and prudence, keeps our friend in peaceful ignorance and his enemies at a becoming distance, so that, in the midst of the persecution of that righteous man, he lives comfortably : and when a friend asks him how he does, answers, 'Waiting God's leave to die'."

No mention has been made so far of Watts's enemies and, indeed, they scarcely counted ; but they could be very bitter. He was too broad-minded—one is almost tempted to say, too modern—for some of his

sterner and more literal brethren. "Moderation", he said, "must expect a box on both ears." For example, he suggests that perhaps the soul, when it leaves the body, is furnished with some new vehicle of more refined matter, and that it may abide where death finds it, not changing its place, but only its manner of thinking and its mode of existence. He imagines in the next world, "not only services of thanksgiving and prayer, but also such entertainments as lectures and sermons." He pictures "Boyle and Ray pursuing the philosophy in which they delighted on earth, contemplating the wisdom of God in His works ; and Henry Moore and Howe continuing their metaphysical researches with brightened and refined powers of mind." He preached everlasting damnation, as his duty bound, because he found it in the New Testament. Yet (in the second volume of *The World to Come*) he expresses the hope that God has some secret and mitigating decree, and that, although we neither dare preach nor speculate upon it, bowing to the Word, we yet may hope that infinite love will find a way.

"Do you think," growled the Reverend Thomas Bradbury, "that the ministers of London are to stand still while you tear in pieces eight great Articles of their Faith ?" The story is told that at a meeting of ministers Watts, then frail and in feeble voice, had difficulty in making himself heard, when Bradbury called out to him : "Brother Watts, shall I speak for you ?" Like a flash came the retort : "Why, Brother Bradbury, you have often spoken against me."

One is reluctant to close this sketch without an example of Watts's prose. The following passage is taken from *The World to Come*, and is a description of death as an escape from prison :

Suppose a man born or brought up in a dark prison, in the midst of a fair and populous city. He lives there in a close confinement ; perhaps he enjoys only the twinkling light of a lamp, with thick air and much ignorance ; though he has some hints and reports of the surrounding city and its affairs, yet he sees and knows nothing immediately but what is done in his own prison, till in some happy minute the walls fall down ; then he finds himself at once in a large and populous town, encompassed with a thousand blessings. With surprise he beholds the king in all his glory, and holds converse with the sprightly inhabitants. He can speak their language, and find his nature suited to such communion. He breathes free air, stands in the open light, he shakes himself, and exults in his own liberty.

It is not necessary to quote a specimen of Watts's hymns. Most people know many of them by heart, such as "When I survey the wondrous Cross", "Jesus shall reign", "I'll praise my Maker", the hymn-paragraph : "O God ! our help in ages past" and others equally fine and almost as popular. Nor is it too much to hope that as long as religion lights the minds and warms the hearts of English-speaking peoples, Watts's hymns will be known and loved.

## FESTIVALS OF BRITAIN

BY KENNETH ADAM

[T]is pleasant from the half light of winter to look back on the shining festivals of summer, to remember, on unlovely evenings, with the dry air and dust of December playhouses in our lungs, and the draughts of metropolitan concert-halls swirling round our legs, those amiable occasions on which we took an interval turn on lawn or riverbank or terrace, under soft skies, disputing the points of the performance in hand. It is pleasant anyway, and this year apt as well. For the Season of 1948, not in the old, narrow sense of the word, but in its fuller, more democratic meaning, was one of the most remarkable, almost startling, that this country has known. In post-war Britain, in its austerity and drabness, with its scars and its shortages, there were mounted no fewer than six major festivals. This was the *Land ohne Musik* beating Germany at its own game. All were, to a greater or less degree, successful, some brilliantly so. To Bath, Stratford, Aldeburgh, Cheltenham, Canterbury and Edinburgh there went, between April and October, something more than a million visitors, many from overseas (for which invisible export much credit goes to the hard working and lively Travel Association), most from other parts of this country.

Excellent as the majority of the events were which they attended, it is the audiences themselves who claim first notice. These celebrations were crowded because people wanted enough to go to take some trouble about it. They did not just drop in. They did not go because somebody else did, or because they thought they ought to. And so they were not vacuous spectators merely, an unresponsive compound of individuals. They had homogeneity. You could feel in them "the stir of a common intellectual excitement changing all the hard disparate atoms in the auditorium into one quickened brain." The public itself was not the least performer in the Season of 1948. It is not strictly accurate to speak of this response, considered from the numerical aspect at any rate, as a "revival", because there has been nothing like it before, nothing on so large a scale, and nothing, probably, so vehemently alive. When or where did a quarter of a million people go to a single country theatre, except this year at Stratford? Or nearly twice as many partake of a richly varied feast of the arts which made Edinburgh for three weeks the most stimulating capital in the world? Perhaps restoration is a better word, a restoration of the social nucleus as an essential element in the life of the community. At Edinburgh, most noticeably, but elsewhere as well, there was to be

found a dramatic unity, or what Proust called "a charming dialogue" between the occasion and its witnesses. We seem to be forming a new habit. Whether we shall keep it remains to be seen. However, it is a good augury for 1951 and Mr. Gerald Barry's "pomp and parade, shows, games, sports, guns, bells, banquets and illuminations."

Of course it is possible to argue, and has indeed been argued, by C. E. Montague and others, that too much atmosphere is bad for art, that judgment is clouded on these high days and holidays. Montague wrote :

Acting is one mighty stimulant to imagination, and the presence of the scene of great and ancient events is another ; but you cannot just add the one to the other and enjoy at once the sum of both, perhaps because some attributes inseparable from the acting take repose away from those other objects, and some attributes commonly found in those objects make acting look flimsy and cheap, though it is not.

W. A. Darlington, on the other hand, much less ascetic a judge, has declared that the festival spirit tends to mitigate the critics' professional ferocity and to make the audiences less captious and demanding. How insupportable these reasonings are ! They are a sour relict of our puritan tradition, and a reflection of our inability to take our pleasures gladly. Abroad they know better. Does the Augusteo play any the worse because during the summer it moves out of doors into the *Basilica di Massenzio* and has the old Roman Forum for backcloth ? Are the patrons of the *Palais des Beaux Arts* in Brussels lulled into soporific acceptance of the second-best by the superb comfort and elegance of their surroundings ? Do the Danes belittle their musical tradition by holding symphony concerts in the Tivoli with a switchback and dodgems and other popular delights for company ? No, no. Because concertgoers have to undergo the acoustic horrors of the Albert Hall or Harringay, and playgoers the antique discomforts of the majority of West End theatres, it does not follow that mortification of the flesh is an inescapable adjunct to these pursuits. We are learning, at last, that surroundings count. We are tasting new flavours out of town. The people who went to Bath, for instance, last spring, saw, perhaps for the first time, that a theatre can be a thing of beauty, and those who heard the Hallé Orchestra play in the Town Hall, Cheltenham, instead of at Belle Vue, Manchester, realized that it matters every bit as much where music is played as by whom. One of these days the downtrodden audiences will rise in their wrath and demand that the art slums be destroyed as the house slums are being destroyed.

The oldest and most highly organized of these leavening festivals is, of course, that of Stratford. It is some time now since the worst maladies of the showplace afflicted this pleasant town with its bright ornament, the Avon. Bardolatry is under lock and key. The "cult" is decently controlled. The guides at the Birthplace and the museums are not human parrots but devoted folk who may even be checked and questioned in their flow without disastrous results. One feature of the old welcome has disappeared, alas. The cottages which still declare themselves anxious to

more your bicycle will no longer give you ham and eggs in the front parlour. But the 'jam factory', as the new theatre was most unkindly dubbed, seems to have settled comfortably into the "contained and friendly Midland landscape." Perhaps it is because the red brick isellowing, or perhaps because we have got used to functionalism. The controversies which have raged round the policy of the theatre have been happily settled. The standards of production and acting have never been higher, even in Benson's day, than under Sir Barry Jackson's direction, and his successor, Anthony Quayle, is a young man of proved ability. At least the wisdom of employing only the best acting talent has been accepted. Wynyard, Tearle, Helpmann, these were names to conjure with this summer. In one post during the height of the season 3,000 letters were received, one is told, demanding anything from one to 150 seats. More than fifty nationalities were counted among the visitors. This is a success story, all the more surprising when one recalls the doldrums into which the festival had run a few years ago. And now is the time, it would seem, to pay tribute to the Flower family, whose bitter beer is one of Stratford's not inconsiderable amenities, and whose munificence made the whole thing possible. It is a generosity that deserves to be remembered, one to set appropriately beside that of the Johansens, of the Carlsburg breweries, to whom Denmark owes so much.

The true spirit of a festival is hard to maintain over a period of six-and-a-half months. It would be a good deal easier if the conservative inhabitants of Stratford, or some of them, could be persuaded that it is just as indigestible to go straight to bed after seeing Mr. Tearle play Othello as after a heavy meal. The opportunities for recreation when the play is done are nil. The opportunities for talk and discussion over a cup of cocoa even, are virtually nil. He who stays abroad after eleven in Stratford creeps furtively home with the guilty feeling of an undergraduate out after the college gates are shut. It is with some surprise, indeed, that one does not find a polite invitation to call on the Dean by one's breakfast plate. Even if the British holidaymaker is prepared to accept such constraints, overseas visitors are not. This haunting nineteenth century Grundyism will have to go. Our sad and surreptitious night life, compared with that, say, of Copenhagen (one does not mention the Latin countries because it is generally understood that they are incorrigibly wicked) is something which nobody as dependent as we are on tourism can afford. Edinburgh and Bath, with their festival clubs, have made a brave start in the right direction, but naturally, they are hopelessly overcrowded. It was done best of all, perhaps, at Malvern before the war (and that is one casualty in the Festival calendar which one does not cease to regret), where the enchanting Winter Gardens, with their terraces and walks, next door to the theatre, were open after the performance for refreshment, not only from the mineral spring, and for dancing. Here the humblest visitor might rub shoulders with the stars, even with the genial and approachable sage in knickerbockers.

himself. Not every festival can have its *genius loci* in the flesh, but it is perfectly possible to enjoy supper and late diversions without Mr. Shaw.

The Bath Assembly, blessed with the warm sunshine of an April which proved to be the most jocund month of the year, is the youngest of the festivals. It starts with many advantages. Apart from its gem of a Theatre Royal, Bath, as a town to live in or just to walk in and about, is incomparable. The programme was designed to harmonize with the Georgian crescents and squares and circuses, and with the literary and historical associations of the city. The Pump Room, by being converted into a club, was reverting suitably to type. Indeed the real success of the first Assembly were the historic houses, many of them open to view, the comely public gardens and the society. For Bath is winning back the reputation for greeting visitors well, if expensively, which it lost in sullen resentment at the wartime invasion of Government departments. The more formal occasions were the less outstanding ; it was perhaps imprudent to advertise the Assembly widely abroad unless it was certain that the performances were going to be more than simply competent.

Cheltenham, which devotes itself at the end of June to the hearing of contemporary symphonic music and opera, is now, after its fourth season, firmly established as a notable event, as strictly musical as Stratford is dramatic. John Barbirolli's distinctive qualities are shown to great effect in the Cheltenham milieu. The little dynamic creature is in fact the hero of the festival, which is almost a one-man show. The town, like Bath, boasts noble streets and is prodigal of flowers. The audiences take after the flower beds ; they are a whit too well drilled and modish. Like Bath again, Cheltenham is far from cheap. These inland resorts with their leisurely airs and graces, are almost ideally equipped for the pursuance of festivals of the arts, but the class for which they have catered for so long is rapidly dying out, and unless they are ready to adapt themselves to the visitor of more modest resources, as Malvern did, for example, they may fall into a new decline.

Those fortunate few who went to Aldeburgh for the Festival of Music, Literature and Painting in June report that its character was unique. It was built round the figure of Crabbe and other Suffolk worthies, including Benjamin Britten, whose *Albert Herring* was given in the intimacy of the Jubilee Hall. It was a small and secluded affair, but to hold it at all was a gallant gesture on the part of a town which endures continual encroachment from the sea, whose inhabitants might have been forgiven had their minds been too full of other things to receive culture kindly. Lectures by eminent literary figures such as E. M. Forster distinguished the festival, which also rejoiced in a printed programme which was a genuine work of art in itself. Not enough attention is paid, as a rule, to the printed matter which accompanies these occasions.

Canterbury, too, is specialized in its appeal. It is an important event in the Church calendar, described as " a festival of noble arts designed to the

greater glory of God." The Friends of Canterbury Cathedral who organize the programme are at their best when devising processions and pageants, but it is the cathedral choir that captures the imagination. Before the beauty of its singing everything pales. The repairs to the cathedral proceed, and the stained glass is going back. Otherwise Canterbury has a shabby air. The clearing of the ruins is taking a long time (one has to go to Holland to appreciate what can be done, and by a country with no more resources than ours), and the streets that are standing could do with a good coat of paint. If only local authorities and property-owners would realize, as they had in Bath, how the sight of fresh glistening paint sets the heart singing these days.

Finally one comes, in late summer, to Edinburgh, where there is the sense of being in at the birth of a thing which some day will be valued for its ancientness. One walks the streets, under the gay flags and banners that strain at their masts in Auld Reekie's prevailing wind, and feels that one is making new history in a place that is already full of it. Think of the festival as a play and Edinburgh is a stage already set, intensifying and underlining the sound, gesture and action of the drama. Here are associated minds in an integrated city, which has no room in it for the Leopold Blooms from *Ulysses*, "poisoned with the vicarious vitality of Metropolis." In Edinburgh, in August this year, everybody from the waitress who served your morning kipper to the Lord Provost marching at the head of the procession up the nave of St. Giles' for the opening service, was festival-minded. They were all 'taking part'. Such enthusiasm cannot be withstood. Little wonder that the actors, dancers and musicians spoke of a "quivering communicative quickness" between their intention and the audiences' perception. Edinburgh shares with Bath fortunate initial advantages. There is the floodlit rock, floating in the night sky. There are the colour and pageantry of a capital, so rich that the inauguration in the cathedral is a missal come to life, however Presbyterian the service. There is Princes Street with its splendid shops. There are the pipers and dancers. But these are not enough to explain the phenomenon of the last two years. The boldness of the planning—seven orchestras, a dozen solo artists of world repute, two operas, eleven ballets, three choirs, four chamber music combinations, five plays, a hundred films in 1948—the readiness of the civic authorities to take big risks, and a thoroughly efficient administration are probably as near as one can get to the secret. There are difficulties and dangers ahead, of course, particularly those of repetition and of falling into routine. The proposals for 1949, which include the return of the Vienna Philharmonic and the revival of *Figaro*, both heard in 1947, are disquieting. Schnabel, who takes a great interest in the whole project, has warned against the pitfalls and suggests a five-year plan to be discussed outside the organizing circle "with persons in whose judgment one has the fullest trust."

Meanwhile the most significant thing about the Festival is probably

that it has occurred at a time when Scotland herself is going through the throes of a cultural renaissance. It is no accident that the Rectors of Aberdeen and Edinburgh Universities at the moment are an author and an actor respectively. The passion which informs this rebirth is deep, its achievement already considerable, its promise exciting. It would have been possible for its protagonists to have stood aloof from the Festival, to have followed the Welsh in their deliberate parochialism, their cultural secession. Instead of that they have thrown themselves wholeheartedly into the stream, and will, doubtless, be much refreshed and reinvigorated as a result. That is why the *Anthem* by Ian Whyte, and the *Satyre of the Thrie Estaites*, adapted by Robert Kemp and produced by Tyrone Guthrie, were among the most important achievements of the 1948 Festival. For if the events described in this article prove to be anything more than a passing fashion, a "sport" in the botanical sense, it will be because they stress the existence of the region as a basic configuration in human life. Britain outside London is not a wilderness inhabited by those who failed to 'make the grade'. We have had enough of Spengler's "intellectual nomad", of the man who has "lost the country within himself." It is time to lay siege once more to our native heritages. In the Festivals, though inevitably and rightly they must enlist outside resources, act as a brake on the acquisitiveness of London, if they develop a positive attack on the Procrustean uniformity which is to-day menacing not only the arts but our society generally, then they will have done more than give pleasure to an eager multitude. They will have helped to save Britain from herself.

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#### CORRESPONDENCE

Charlotte Brontë's M. Héger

To the Editor of THE FORTNIGHTLY,

Sir,

In her kindly notice of my book (your issue of November 1948), *In the Steps of the Brontës*, your reviewer writes: "M. Héger (Mr. Raymond always drops the accent which makes the name look as strange as 'Brontë' would do without the diaeresis) is her . . ." May I be allowed to point out, for the interest of Brontë lovers, that the Hegers were of Viennese extraction and invariably spelt their name in the German fashion without any accent? There is no document of theirs in existence where the name is otherwise spelt, from the prospectus of their Maison d'Education to the letters written to the Brontës or the inscription on their tomb.

Yours faithfully,

ERNEST RAYMOND.

22, The Pryors,  
East Heath Road,  
London, N.W.3.

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## VOLUNTARY SOCIAL SERVICE

BY HERMANN LEVY

**S**TATUTORY social insurance deals with a limited number of contingencies in working-class lives, sickness, industrial injury, unemployment, old age; voluntary social action which may super-impose itself on these services has a far wider scope. While the benefits of statutory social insurance may be definitely fixed and the requirements easily assessed because they only relate to a minimum of wants, voluntary social services appeal to an almost unrestricted field of social needs and their many activities rise far above the aim of a mere "freedom from want."

For this reason Lord Beveridge's new book, with the sub-title "A Report on Methods of Social Advance",\* is not so sharply silhouetted in its content and aim as was his famous Report on social insurance.

Statutory social services are mainly static—though we have learnt in the last years that they too require constant improvement and adjustment; voluntary social services are necessarily more dynamic and demand greater flexibility because their scope is almost without limits, as, for example, in the necessary attempts to save leisure from wastage "and to promote its right use by adolescents through voluntary action" efforts (pages 272-273). It is the aim of this new Report, and, indeed a most valuable aim, to show that what is wanted is not just "redistribution of purchasing power" and the statement on page 302 might have served as the "*leit motiv*" of the whole book:

Money, however, well distributed, will not buy the material necessities of healthy life for all, if they are not produced in sufficient quantities for all. There are some things—not goods but services—which often cannot be bought with money, but may be rendered from sense of duty.

The National Deposit Friendly Society was responsible for the making of

the Report, a society which, as Lord Beveridge emphasizes, illustrates the working of the three motives of voluntary action: mutual aid, personal thrift, and philanthropy. It is therefore understandable that friendly societies play the most important rôle among the voluntary social services treated in the book. Mrs. Joan S. Clarke, a well-known economist and one of the author's active collaborators, has suggested a welcome chapter on the growth of friendly societies. They have certainly an impressive history; yet, scientific truth demands that the full story could not have been told without mentioning the great losses which at times they caused to insured persons and the criticism they provoked in the eighteenth century by Sir Frederic Eden, among others, and in the nineteenth by Sir Edwin Chadwick, Mr. Gladstone (in one of his most famous speeches), and the Stafford Northcote Commission in the 'seventies.

Legal action and control have corrected such deficiencies. But other features of friendly society organization may to-day give rise to new criticism. As Lord Beveridge agrees (page 293), the enlargement of friendly societies has depersonalized them. He emphasizes that "the conclusion is inescapable that to the bulk of their eight million members, the friendly societies to-day represent not good fellowship but a means of insurance by contract." The membership of friendly societies, as Mass Observation has put it, is very largely a passive one. It would have been useful if Lord Beveridge had not merely contented himself with the statement that in spite of this the friendly society has its future and that it "may do excellent work even though most of its members never see one another." The

\**Voluntary Action*, by Lord Beveridge. Allen & Unwin. 16s.

Cohen Report on Industrial Assurance which dealt with friendly collecting societies stated that their "real control has fallen into the hands of those whose relation to the societies should be that of servants." Such criticism should have prompted Lord Beveridge to deal more critically with the administrative aspects of some of the societies.

A long chapter which provokes particular interest is that on some "special needs that remain" in a social service State. These are, among others, the needs of childhood, of children outside their parents' homes, of the blind, the deaf, disabled persons, the chronic sick, handicapped children, and the unmarried mother and her child. In all these and other fields voluntary action must remain as a supplement to State action. One is particularly grateful to Lord Beveridge for having stressed this point; for already in the short time which has elapsed since the passing of the new social insurance legislation it has become clear that voluntary action is necessary, and perhaps more necessary than ever if the expectations attached to this legislation are to become realities. There is, one is glad to say, no rivalry between Government departments concerned with the new State insurance or health services and voluntary action; the tremendous benefit to be derived from voluntary or semi-voluntary organizations is readily acknowledged by officialdom. Indeed, institutions like the Industrial Welfare Society, the Central Council for the Care of Cripples, the British Council for Rehabilitation, the Family Welfare Association and many others are more appreciated than ever.

There arises a problem to which one could wish Lord Beveridge had turned his authoritative attention. Voluntary action will always largely depend on the extent to which State action grants social security. If the State grants scant benefits, voluntary action, instead of devoting itself to higher and more specialized aims, must necessarily turn to the basic objectives which the State should but does not achieve. In the

past friendly societies have sometimes opposed an extension of State benefits lest their own field of action and strength might be impaired. At present the flat rate of cash benefits, for which unfortunately Lord Beveridge's recommendations have been responsible, keeps these on a standardized and crude level which undoubtedly entails injustice for the higher-paid worker, a result which has always been rejected by the International Labour Organization. If Lord Beveridge were to come forward with new proposals based on the percentage-of-earnings, principle he would immediately create an opportunity for friendly societies to concentrate more on the higher aims for which his excellent book makes such a valuable and eloquent plea. Friendly societies and other self-help should not be concerned in a modern, socially progressive State with providing for the basic needs of the people in their misfortunes. In this respect some analysis of the opportunities offered by voluntary social agencies for the training and recruitment of social workers, as has been lately described by Mrs. Gertrude Williams in a concluding chapter to Henry A. Mess's *Voluntary Social Services since 1918* (Kegan Paul, 1947), would have been an advantage.

But it may be unfair to refer to the gaps in an enlightened book like Lord Beveridge's, which also contains such an admirably collected wealth of information.

#### DEVIATION INTO SENSE, by O. S. Wauchope. *Faber*. 12s. 6d.

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something is matter." Obviously he uses matter in the sense not of ponderable stuff, but in the ancient sense of the substratum of reality. "Matter has an aspect as the agent of frustration of living behaviour; it has also an aspect as the passive condition on which living behaviour is dependent." But if it is passive, how can it be an agent of frustration? This is the old crux of Platonism. Is matter the all but non-existent, or is it the seat of an evil principle? Neither Hellenism nor the older Hebraism found room for a devil. Like some other important doctrines which have entered Christianity through post-exilic Judaism, the devil comes from Persia. Mr. Wauchope thinks that "there is no problem of evil." Our disillusioned world thinks that there is, and agrees with Zoroaster, if not with Mani, that there is a cosmic duel. Mr. Wauchope's good-humoured society, "more generous and less moral, more compassionate and less public-spirited, more alive and less safe" than ours, would be fatally open to attack by "the world-rulers of this darkness."

When the response is more than strong enough to meet the challenge, we are alive and happy. When the challenge is menacing, we are no longer living but only 'death-avoiding.' Sooner or later the challenge can no more be met, and this is death. 'Death-avoiding' is the origin of almost everything that the author dislikes in our present society. It has given birth to a conception of justice which is based on fear. "It affords an apparently objective sanction for the mob to proceed to any length which commends itself to their fear, their vengeance, and their mendicant morality." Those who are writhing under the inquisition of social planners will welcome this vigorous assertion of individual freedom.

The author's energetic repudiation of naïve realism may seem to point to subjective idealism or even solipsism. But he does not fall into this trap. Reality is 'subjective,' but the subject may expand so far as to include almost

everything. This is the Indian doctrine of the Atman, the universal self, which, he might have said, has a place in Platonism as the Nous, and in Pauline Christianity as the Pneuma. But he sees that absorption in the Absolute would mean the death of love. Personality must be preserved—distinctness though not separation. God is love, and love is the fulfilling of the law. This doctrine, which is the great contribution of Christianity to ethics, rejects not only Nirvana but the cold benevolence of Stoicism. It also explains why as mortals we cannot attain to what he calls pure subjectivity. Reality is unity in duality. Even love, as we know it, often hurts. When it is frustrated, Mr. Wauchope says rather doubtfully, it may turn to rage, hence, he thinks, the strange phenomena of sadism and masochism.

There is a decided streak of anti-intellectualism, even of irrationality, in Mr. Wauchope. Natural science has its limits; it is not a philosophy of ultimate reality. The best of our scientists now recognize this. Science is becoming philosophically, even religiously humble, as religion is becoming scientifically humble. But natural science is at present the healthiest of human activities, and it is threatened by a crowd of superstitions, masquerading in a pseudo-scientific dress. If we live as we ought we shall see things as they are, and if we see things as they are we shall live as we ought. The two live or die together; and *ratio* is the instructor, not the enemy, of *intellectus*.

W. R. INGE.

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Lectures for 1947. The book will certainly and most deservedly attract wide attention not only for the contemporary urgency of its theme and for its generous and eirenic temper, but, above all, for what can only be called its masterly treatment of the basic questions to be settled on that frontier where religion and the secular life of a community meet.

By "culture" Mr. Dawson means "an organized way of life which is based on a common tradition and conditioned by a common environment", and by "religion" that complex of intellectual, emotional and practical responses to a real spiritual world believed in on the twin warranty of man's experience of the cosmos itself, and of his own mind. He has no difficulty in showing that every social culture is at once a material way of life and a spiritual order, for, historically speaking, the religious tradition is built into every historic culture. Religion on the whole has provided a stabilizing influence, but, in time of cultural crisis, it has also proved itself to be capable of great revolutionary force and activity. This is so because, of the three great "carriers" of religious tradition, the prophet, the priest and the king, the first named is not only the oldest and the most abiding factor in all religions, but, in times of cultural crisis the persuasion that he is uttering an immediate and authentic word of God lends to his word peculiar authority and weight and this may be creative of a new tradition, leading in the end to a new culture. That very intensity however, because it is focussed on the specifically religious elements of culture too narrowly, may easily bring its own nemesis of allowing culture to be secularized, just as the danger of the predominance of the priest and the king (through law) is that the culture will be petrified and religion come in turn to be too closely identified with the cultural *status quo*.

In our day, the ancient connection between culture and religion has been broken and the two worlds of religion and culture go their separate ways to the

vast impoverishment, not to say to the self-stultification of both. A world created by scientific techniques finds itself unable to solve the problems those techniques have raised, and religion, bereft of its natural outlet and field in culture, turns inward upon itself. There is no salvation from that frustration unless we rediscover and accept the transcendental values of religion, and Mr. Dawson is not without hope that that process has begun.

Emphatically this is a book to be read and it will be no great matter if here and there the reader feels that Mr. Dawson has over-simplified his problem and that once at least, in his insistence that religion affects culture and culture affects religion, he has failed to realize the logic of that admission, for it raises the vast issue as to what at any time in religious thought and practice is purely relative and what absolute.

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the authors of the first of them point out, "does not mean government by Parliament"; secondly, a tendency expressed by Mr. Harrison but implicit in the work of the other authors, to write "with a bias against certain types of criticism or certain emphases in some criticisms that represent what might be called the 'rationalist' attitude towards government . . . . Proposals to reform by nationalization are similar in character; they are directed towards neat and tidy solutions which, indeed, fit the problem as posed; only the problems to which they are directed are different in fact from what they are as posed." The machinery of government may need reforming and certainly does need continuous adaptation to new problems and changing needs; but before it can be reformed or adapted it must be understood. Each of these books, in its different way, will help to form and spread such understanding.

It is a little unfair to the authors of the other two books to review theirs in the same article as Sir Cecil Carr's new edition of the late Sir Courtenay Ilbert's *Parliament*; this is a classic. Sir Courtenay Ilbert, after a career distinguished both academically and in public life, became Clerk of the Commons; Sir Cecil Carr, eminent both as a lawyer and a scholar, is the present Speaker's Counsel. Both men possess a combination of gifts and experience ideal for the purposes of such a book as this, and they have exercised their great talents to the full in writing it. Parliamentary history and procedure are put into the perspective of the wider problems both of our history and of our current political life. The book is written concisely but vividly and not without humour, and it is full not only of learning but of practical wisdom and human understanding. There is a wholesome corrective to what is rightly termed the "cant" about "party tyranny."

A member of parliament is not a puppet, but a human being, very human, influenced by the same kind of considerations and actuated by the same kind of motives as his fellow mortals outside the House. He recognizes the importance of combination and organization

in politics, as in the other affairs of life; he is willing to subordinate, on many points, his individual preferences and opinions to those of his leaders; he knows that debate is teamwork and that he must submit to discipline if he is to be an effective member of an organised body. But no one knows better than a political leader what arts of persuasion, what tactics of conciliation and compromise, are required to keep a party together.

And the fundamental problem of contemporary Parliaments is stated in terms which could not be bettered.

*Our House* is a more "popular" introduction to Parliamentary procedure; that is to say, the type of reader who wants to know what is going on in the House of Commons but who is not so interested to inquire "why?" would probably enjoy Mr. Bossom's book more than *Parliament*. There are some minor inaccuracies, and Mr. Bossom tries, but not always successfully, to be impartial; for instance he displays some strange misconceptions about Labour Party organization; and he gives a slightly exaggerated picture of the admittedly strenuous life a good Member leads. None the less, a man seldom succeeds in holding his seat for seventeen years without having some pretty distinctive qualities; Mr. Bossom has them, and he has written a good little book.

Mr. Harrison's book is concerned with the whole field of government and not primarily with Parliamentary institutions as such: "the present basic predicament of British government is how it can continue to meet the increasing demands made upon it without loss of effectiveness and without departing from the principles of responsibility on which it has rested." It is a vast field to try to cover, and although certain problems, notably that of combining freedom from outside day-to-day interference in the conduct of publicly owned industrial enterprises whilst ensuring the ultimate public control over policy, do not seem to be quite adequately stated, it is a useful, sane and stimulating book, marred here and there by slipshod writing which may be a sign of not wholly clear thought. Whilst *Parliament* is a book to be com-

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mended to all persons of normal intelligence past the age of childhood and *Our House* is a book for the general reader, *The Government of Britain* is essentially an introduction for the student.

W. T. WELLS.

**A SHORT HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE EAST: From the Rise of Islam to Modern Times**, by George E. Kirk. *Methuen*. 16s.

Mr. Kirk describes his book on the Middle East as a "Short History" and in just under three hundred pages he has spread his net from Turkey to the Sudan and from Iran by way of Arabia to Egypt and has covered thirteen and a half centuries of tense history in amazing detail.

We start from the rise and fall of the Arab Empire. Then comes the story of the Ottoman Empire and the gradual impingement on the Middle East of European commercial and later political and strategic interests. Then we pass to the wide-spread renaissance of local nationalist movements. These phases of the story are painstakingly described in Chapters I to V—albeit with a lamentable paucity of full-stops. The remainder of the book gives a review of the struggles of the various Middle East countries towards independence leading up to the more general topics of economic and social reactions in the Middle East of to-day and, secondly, of the Soviet's interests and aspirations in those parts. As Mr. Kirk advances towards events about which he can speak from a personal experience dating—it is presumed though it is not stated—from about 1940, his story gains in conviction and impetus and what he has written of Egypt, Palestine, Iraq and Iran since the Italian declaration of war is, if he will allow me, a model of first-class journalistic rapportage.

On the whole the story is well-documented; though there will be those who know Egypt well who will question the infallibility of the authority (page 120) on which Mr. Kirk bases his somewhat tepid account of Lord

Kitchener's mission from 1911 to 1914. Again in the second part of the book (page 145) Mr. Kirk makes the personal statement that in March 1924 Sir Percy Cox "had taken pains to 'make' a pro-treaty majority", which may not be welcome to those who know Iraqi history of those days well; while the account (page 167) of Lord Allenby's ultimatum to Zaghul Pasha's Egyptian Government after the murder of Sir Lee Stack, has been so heavily compressed as to be almost misleading.

There remains the question whether Mr. Kirk has succeeded in the object which he set himself to attain—"to interest a wider public whose attention has been drawn to the Middle East by current political questions and for whom no general introduction to the subject exists." It is certain that his book will be of interest and value to those who have specialized on the Middle East and need a "refresher course" to bring them up to date. Again it will be a helpful guide to more leisurely reading for those who, for instance, may be studying Middle East history at one of the universities. But—though I hope that I am wrong—in view of the ambitious effort of self-imposed compression which Mr. Kirk has applied to his work, I fear lest the wider public whom he is addressing, may not be able to see the Middle East wood for the Middle East trees.

OWEN TWEEDY.

**SWITZERLAND.** Edited by L. Russell Muirhead. *The Blue Guides*. Ernest Benn. 25s.

Memories do not require a passport "to allow the bearer to pass freely without let or hindrance, and to afford him or her every assistance and protection of which he or she may stand in need" and even in the days of uneasy peace there is a need to call upon these reserves rather than undertake the difficulties of travel occasioned by war and its after-math. A guide book is no bad prop to such a pleasant exercise and this one has all the qualities necessary for the purpose of planning future

holidays or re-creating past ones.

If the experience is still to come the information is set out clearly and concisely with transport and other amenities in their important and proper place. Money, hotels, Swiss wines, postal details, summer and winter sports and mountaineering are some of the items which have chapters to themselves. Swiss art and history, too, help to create the right atmosphere for an approach to what may be a strange country. The maps are copious; the index seems adequate. To those who cling to their memories the cool guide book technique only serves as a magic wand to summon up the past: the childish disappointment at the failure to keep awake during the passage of the Simplon tunnel, the longest in the world; of Mont Blanc, Pilatus, Matterhorn and Jungfrau; of toy towns, sheltered against the slopes, Grindelwald, Zermatt, Les Avants; of the lakes, Lucerne, Geneva and Lugano, whose blueness must be seen to be believed; of the Villa Carlotta and William Tell's chapel; of trips into Italy, Maggiore in the sunshine and the climb on ten-year-old legs to the top of Milan Cathedral—none of them off the beaten track but part of the magic that the name of Switzerland invokes. Then, finally, the memory of the Swiss people—a nation of perfect hosts.

FELICIA M. McADAM.

**BOYS WILL BE BOYS**, by E. S. Turner. *Michael Joseph*. 10s. 6d.

When, in 1881, I was reading the instalments of *Treasure Island* as they came out week by week in *Young Folks* (Mr. Turner calls that paper *Young Folks Budget*, but by 1881 "Budget" had been dropped from the title), the literature read by boys for their own entertainment fell into two classes: (1) writings not disapproved by parents and schoolmasters, and (2) other writings. Among the former were the works of Jules Verne, W. G. H. Kingston, R. M. Ballantyne and T. B. Reed. The latter, which were concerned with what was called "blood

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and thunder", and were termed "penny dreadfuls" or "bloods", form the subject of Mr. Turner's entertaining and instructive book, which, obviously, is the outcome of much painstaking research.

Mr. Turner traces the rise of nineteenth century penny dreadfuls to Horace Walpole's *Castle of Otranto* and Mrs. Radcliffe's *Mysteries of Udolpho*—he goes back no further—which in the eighteen-forties inspired Edward Lloyd to publish at a penny a week a large range of sensational fiction. His most prolific writer, J. M. Rymer, who kept as many as ten serials running at the same time, wrote the popular "thriller", *Varney the Vampire*, which as a book filled 828 closely printed pages. Another of Lloyd's writers was T. P. Prest, the creator of Sweeney Todd, the barber who had the remains of his murdered customers made up into meat pies. Sweeney Todd stories had an enormous circulation. It was Lloyd's practice, when in doubt whether a manuscript would succeed with his public, to take the opinion "of an illiterate person—a servant, or machine boy, for instance. If they pronounce favourably upon it we think it will do." Lloyd's writers were paid at the rate of 10s. for eight book-size pages. Tales of highwaymen were very popular. Edward Viles's Dick Turpin story, *Black Bess*, which ran to 254 weekly instalments, with about two and a half million words, is said to be the longest penny dreadful written by one author.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the penny dreadful began to appeal specially to boy readers. Charley Wag, the Boy Burglar, appeared in 1860 and became a hero of international repute. But he was eclipsed by Jack Harkaway, who began his career in E. J. Brett's weekly magazine, *Boys of England*, in 1871. Jack, who, Mr. Turner assures us, was "free of the aura of the *Newgate Callender*," became the hero of no fewer than eighteen stories, which came out in penny instalments or in magazines, and his popularity was as great in America as in this country. It

was he who definitely established the penny dreadful as a means by which publishers may find a profitable market for their wares among boys. Mr. Turner describes the development of this industry up to the present time. He gives many examples of the defects of this kind of literature, but he does not condemn it, and concludes with a quotation from Chesterton's essay *In Defence of Penny Dreadfuls* :

The vast mass of humanity, with their vast mass of idle books and idle words, have never doubted and never will doubt that courage is splendid, that fidelity is noble, that distressed ladies should be rescued and vanquished enemies spared . . . [Their literature] will always be a blood and thunder literature as simple as the thunder of heaven and the blood of man.

G. F. McCLEARY.

#### THE MAKING OF A GARDEN, by Ethelind Fearon. Macdonald. 15s.

Mrs. Fearon writes charmingly and with a wealth of knowledge and experience. She gives us a series of talks on the various aspects of her subject, with plenty of good advice relieved by a spice of humour and malice when she expresses her dislikes or gives a warning against creating monstrosities.

Essentially a landscape gardener she is, I think, at her best in showing how the distance, middle distance and mass effects can be exploited even when the potentialities of site are limited. Those are matters in which the amateur can follow her advice with the least expenditure of labour and money. On the other hand when she deals with the foreground, the cultivation of the soil, the selection of what to grow and how to grow it—her advice, though admirable may prove somewhat daunting to beginners. Out of the many aspiring to start their own gardens or to improve gardens they have acquired, few I am afraid will have time, energy or financial resources to aim at such high standards which approach a counsel of perfection. Yet they should not be discouraged. An open fire is said to produce efficiently only twenty-five per cent. of the heat of the fuel it burns. Still, that per-

entage can be very gratifying and we can get pleasure in poking the fire. So it is with gardens: if we do not neglect them and avoid the grosser errors we can get an immense amount of satisfaction from them. Nevertheless we should be foolish not to listen to Mrs. Fearon's advice even if we cannot follow it in its entirety.

An attractive feature of the book is that, in the course of her talks, she turns to her bookshelves to see what others have said on the particular subject about which she has given her own views, and she gives us the benefit of her investigations in many quotations. I was pleased to read that A. Cowley, who lived from 1616 to 1689, had always the desire "that I might be the master at least of a small house and large garden with very moderate conveniences joined to them." That is an ambition I personally had, and almost achieved, and I suspect in these days it is shared not only by those embarking for the first time on the adventure of ownership but also by the new poor, forced to give up more extensive properties.

Mrs. Fearon will help them to visualize what they should look for, but I would add a word of warning that it were better that the house should be too small than the garden too large. In the latter alternative much may be done, as Mrs. Fearon explains, to limit one's liabilities and improvements by growing trees and shrubs but a kitchen garden, which she also deals with, can absorb more labour than flowers, and, unless run on a commercial basis, is apt to produce an unrewarding superfluity—but it is not my business to advise.

CHARLES GWYNN.

The title of Arnold Silcock's book, published by Faber & Faber (12s. 6d.) and reviewed in the September 1948 issue, is *An Introduction to Chinese Art and History*.

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## BOOKS ON THE TABLE

The year 1948 started here with a note on the first part of André Gide's journals and now it enters upon its close with *THE JOURNALS OF ANDRÉ GIDE: Volume II 1914—1927*, also translated from the French and annotated by Justin O'Brien (*Secker & Warburg*, 30s.). When the book opens André Gide, at forty-four, is still racked by the search for truth, for God; and the stormy passage, to the period when he can say: "I have no other anxiety than that of seeing my thought misinterpreted," is plainly charted through these thirteen years. Professor O'Brien's editing shows no sign of fatigue and, as before, is invaluable in its comprehensiveness. Perhaps irrelevant and certainly unfair is the distaste for American language and spelling: it is British insularity, for instance, that jibs at a depressed Monsieur Gide saying he is fit only for the ashcan, when a dustbin is so obviously the receptacle; nevertheless, it is still hard to reconcile some examples of near-slang with the austerities of his literary style. As for his thought—he has managed to retain his extreme individualism with a deepening sense of the freedom of service for others. The maturity of his judgments on literature has now been reached, a further reason why the third volume is a hoped-for boon of 1949.

**'The crossroads of a continent'**

The Journals quote Mme. Edwards, the sister of Cipa Godebski, in August 1914 "speaking most passionately of the Polish cause." Those who have read Dr. W. J. Rose's other books, attended his lectures, or listened to him in conversation, will know that the saying perfectly describes the work of his life. As Director of the School of Slavonic Studies in the University of London and as Professor of Polish Literature and History there, he is equipped far more than most to write *POLAND OLD AND NEW* (*G. Bell & Sons*, 26s.), whose struggles for independence are recounted with all the stringency of a textbook and none of its pedantry or

coldheartedness. He communicates to his reader his own enthusiasm for Polish literature, folk culture, art and science and warily indicates political and economic trends. Her religious life and the education of her children cause him misgiving which however is undistorted by the current panic or despair. The judicious photographs help to deepen the impression that this wise and clever book may be recommended without reservation to both the lover and the hater of Poland and to students old and new.

**The "silver hatchet" look**

Students, and lovers and haters too, of the 'nineties, must rejoice to possess *THE BEST OF BEARDSLEY*, collected and edited by R. A. Walker (*Bodley Head*, 25s.). When this lovely, lovely volume arrived at THE FORTNIGHTLY offices, the present writer was fearful lest the Editor should decree its despatch elsewhere. For, to many who were born too late there is a magic about "the Beardsley period" and, indeed, about the whole of the later years of the nineteenth century with their flowering of literature and art, which never fails of entrancement. And, unlike the literature of the time, estimates of much of Beardsley's work must be gleaned from other men's minds, except for a few examples in one or two London galleries. The set of illustrations to *Salome* here, tell us for the first time exactly why they ruffled the surface of Wilde's unfailing good humour, and throughout the book the drawings themselves discuss Beardsley's character more fully than many of the recollections about him have been able to do. Their brilliancy, the untiring detail in their execution, the delight the eye takes in following their lines, even the repugnancy they sometimes arouse in their treatment of a subject, seem to be symbolic of the feverish flush of the burning-up disease which killed this master of pen and ink at twenty-six. To be brooded over from bed, sofa, chair, floor, or on one leg, this "anthology" is only to be lent where

Argus scrutiny beforehand of the borrower's probity is possible.

Tuberculosis claimed Llewelyn Powys too and SKIN FOR SKIN and THE VERDICT OF BRIDLEGOOSE, now republished in one volume (*The Bodley Head*. 8s. 6d.), have much to say of the hopes and fears that attend its dread progress. Less resigned than he was in his later *Swiss Essays*, he lets some of these harassments spill over into his meetings with people he met at Davos Platz and in America. At one moment full of reverence for Richard le Gallienne "who had sat at meat with Swinburne," immediately he can make peevish comment on other celebrities. At this period of his life he was at his best, his most serene, with nature in the shape of birds and flowers.

### All the birds of the air

And what a feast of such matters now follows! First, there is SHETLAND SANCTUARY by Richard Perry (*Faber & Faber*. 25s.). This inquiry into the private life of skua, gannet, kittiwake, eider duck, puffin, guillemot, razorbill, accompanied by numerous photographs, has been prepared with all the innate carefulness of the true naturalist. And not even the formidable tables of breeding statistics can banish the fresh air and sea smell that pervade the book. The author thinks bird-watching is a purely British characteristic, but certain it is that even the town dwellers in these islands derive great pleasure from reading about the patient and lonely activities of the naturalist.—Then there is COMMON BRITISH BIRDS by Ralph Whitlock (*Paul Elek*. 7s. 6d.), for use considerably nearer home than Shetland (though sea birds have their due place in it too) and handy for the pocket or the rucksack. It is a businesslike production; each species has a section to itself, which makes for quick and easy identification, and the many illustrations are equally helpful in their clarity and with their italic index numbers.—Next comes TROPICAL BIRDS from Plates by John Gould, with an Introduction and Notes on the Plates by Sacheverell

Sitwell (*Batsford*. 6s. 6d.). This is one of a new series of "Batsford colour books" and is concerned with the aristocrats, cockatoos, parakeets, toucans, of the bird world. The glowing reproductions indicate something of the "unceasing industry (41 large folio volumes and no fewer than 2,999 hand-coloured plates)" of the Victorian gardener at Windsor Castle, taxidermist to the London Zoo and determined globe trotter.

### Hedgerow and Garden

Also a *Batsford* colour book is GARDEN FLOWERS, from Plates by Jane Loudon, with an Introduction and Notes on the Plates, by Robert Gathorne-Hardy (6s. 6d.). Another early Victorian made these vivid paintings and as well as their decorative value the book has still a practical application. It is daunting but salutary, for example, to one who has grown a bed of salpiglossis from a packet of seed, marvelled at the delicately veined tall trumpets, and graciously accepted the approbation and envy of lesser gardeners, to learn that the flowers were strange and new to Mrs. Loudon too—over a hundred years ago. All the annuals depicted, in fact, are still known and loved; as are the perennials—foxgloves, pentstemons, asters, campanulas and paeonies.—And COMMON BRITISH FLOWERS by E. M. Turner, like *Common British Birds*, is another "life and leisure" book (*Paul Elek*. 7s. 6d.). This, too, is a welcome addition to the botanical shelf and is also a book for the pocket. It imparts learning in the kindest possible way.

Q. Have all those plants got Latin names?

A. Yes. Q. Isn't nature wonderful?

Yet it is difficult to see how one may be intelligent about them without this international classification. How else is one to be certain of the kinship of garden lavatera with the common mallow? And that beautiful little *geranium lucidum*, tenderly guarded in the two halves of the soap box through the dirtiest of weather in the Irish channel last year, and planted on a London rockery whence it dis-

appeared in the winter—the Killarney boatman could not have called it a violet had he only known the order to which it belonged. This book will correct all such delusions, solve much more complex problems and add to the delight of the flower lover.

And to cap the last five volumes comes *THE COUNTRYMAN BOOK*, a selection of Articles and Illustrations from *The Countryman* made by J. W. Robertson Scott, C.H. (Odhams Press. 10s. 6d.). To those who know that most distinguished quarterly, praise of the book will be redundant but, for the others, it should be stated that there is something here for every taste, both in subject and in authors. In and out of season and in every kind of mood, it may be dipped into with certainty of treasure.

### Dates with fairies

Thence to sophistication: *THE ROMANTIC BALLET* from Contemporary Prints, with an Introduction and Notes on the Plates by Sacheverell Sitwell. This is the third *Batsford* colour book (6s. 6d.) on the table. The Victorians this time are glamour girls and include such exponents of the dance as Taglioni, Ellsler, Cerrito, Frisi and Celeste. The cover illustration of Lucile Grahn in *Eoline, ou la dryade* sets the pattern for the grace and charm of the book.—It is but a step to authentic fairyland in four "Porpoise books" (Penguin. 3s. 6d. each). They are the Arabian Nights' *ALADDIN AND HIS WONDERFUL LAMP* with illustrations by John Harwood, *THE UGLY DUCKLING* of Hans Andersen and illustrated by Will Nickless, *THE FLYING POSTMAN* written and illustrated by V. H. Drummond, and *PAUL, THE HERO OF THE FIRE* by Edward Ardizzone "who made the pictures and wrote the story." This grown up baby has just read them all (perhaps because, also paradoxically, she could read before she could walk). The first recalled that enjoyable awe of the miraculous and the second harrowed scarcely less than it did in childhood. All of them are respectfully submitted for the attention of the modern infant.

### A horse and some others

Two more books are sure to be in demand as Christmas presents for boys and girls. One is *SABRE: THE HORSE FROM THE SEA* by Kathleen Herald (A. & C. Black. 8s. 6d.). This seems a remarkable tale for a girl of fifteen to have written; Liza's passion for her foundling blazes through it with unself-conscious sensuousness. That she is not quite so successful in her other contacts, particularly in her temporary home, is not surprising; they are dwarfed by an animal much more real to Liza than people. The illustrations of Lionel Edwards seem to have caught exactly the spirit of the book and the shadow of Sabre on the wet sand in the frontispiece takes on a prophetic quality. Another book is promised soon; it will be interesting to see if adolescence can repeat such single-mindedness.—The other volume is *THE CYNTHIA ASQUITH BOOK* (Macdonald. 10s. 6d.) with such practised writers as Richmal Crompton, E. H. Young, Eleanor Farjeon, Viola Meynell and John Betjeman. It is gay with colour and, apart from the verse, the contributions are stories as distinct from fairytales. Just the companion for a ten-year old in the no man's land between Christmas dinner and the rattle of teacups.

### Around Princes Street

In fairyland tradition, with a castle and a palace, is the grey-green city set against Arthur's Seat. *EDINBURGH* by Sacheverell Sitwell and Francis Bamford (John Lehmann. 12s. 6d.) is a guide book to the legend-like history of the place. It is a saga of plunder, massacre and sorrow, to kings and people alike, and finishes in calmer times with the unsurpassed spectacle of the visit of George IV. In refusing to go further than the "age of Aberdeen granite" it says morosely: "The Scott monument in Princes Street, dating from 1840, is an earlier Albert memorial." But it has suddenly become *démodé* to speak disrespectfully of the shrine in Kensington Gardens.

GRACE BANYARD.

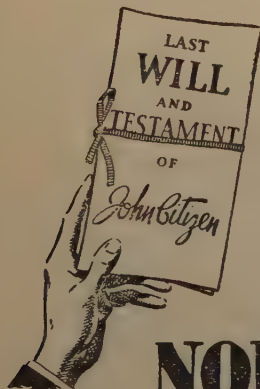
# THE FORTNIGHTLY

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DECEMBER, 1948

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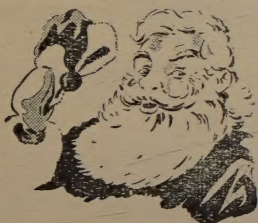
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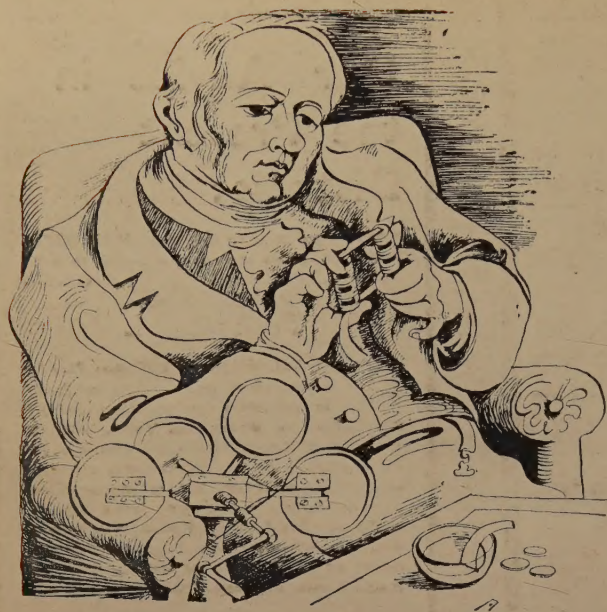
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Nicholson, who was born in London in 1753, made many other scientific discoveries between his return from India in 1786 and his death in 1815. He invented a hydrometer, took out patents for textile printing machinery, planned and carried out a scheme for the water supply to Portsmouth. He was a scientific writer of great contemporary eminence and founded, and, until his death, edited the "Journal of Natural Philosophy". But the electrolysis of water, a fundamental discovery of very great importance, remains this Englishman's real contribution to the world's total of scientific knowledge.

